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CJC Canadian Journal of Communications

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© Canadian Journal of Communication

Media, Elections, and Democracy

Frederick J. Fletcher
York University

Abstract: In reflecting on the work of the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing and the literature on media and elections in Canada, the author argues that election campaigns should be viewed as exercises in communication. In order to make voting a meaningful act of political participation, voters must have access to a wide range of information, not constrained by inequalities of wealth or power. The author suggests directions for research to promote meaningful citizenship.

Résumé: En réfléchissant sur le travail de la Commission royale sur la réforme électorale et le financement des partis (Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing), et sur la littérature portant sur les médias et les élections au Canada, l'auteur affirme qu'on devrait concevoir les campagnes électorales comme des exercices en communication. Pour que voter soit une expérience de participation politique qui a un sens, les voteurs doivent avoir accès à un large éventail d'informations, sans être limités par des inégalités de richesse ou de pouvoir. L'auteur propose des directions de recherche qui serviraient à promouvoir une participation politique responsable.

Having played a part in establishing the Southam Lecture a decade ago, I am delighted to take up the challenge of delivering it this year. The topic--media, elections, and democracy--was an all-consuming concern to me during my two years as Research Co-ordinator for Mass Media and Broadcasting in Elections with the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing (Lortie Commission). The emphasis there, of course, was on the development of policy recommendations within the framework dictated by the mandate of the Commission and the priorities of the Commissioners. There was little time to reflect on broader concerns, though they confronted us at every turn. Preparing this lecture has given me the opportunity to consider some of these issues without the constraints of policy research.

In designing the Lortie Commission's research program on media and elections, I took the opportunity to commission as many studies as I could from communication scholars, not so much out of loyalty to the CCA as to avoid the Commission being dominated by political scientists, who often take a narrow view of election campaigns as nothing more than contests for power. Party strategists and journalists tend to share this view. My own view is that election campaigns are also exercises in communication, and that as such they reveal a good deal about the nature of political discourse in a society. The discourse itself is an important process in a democratic society, shaping citizens' perceptions of electoral democracy and their own place in it.

In these remarks, I wish to accomplish three things: (1) to discuss the work of the Lortie Commission and especially the assumptions about political communication underlying its major recommendations regarding the media and elections; (2) to review some of the main themes in the research done for the Commission on media and elections and more generally the state of research on media, elections, and democracy in Canada; and (3) to suggest an agenda for future research. In the process, I wish to urge communication scholars to devote more attention to issues of democratic communication and the

Main actor is a man called Joe. Secondary is his girlfriend Julie. Also 2 colleagues of his.

Scene opens at a breakfast table with a kitchen.

Julie(ridden with flu, she sneezes)
Ooohh... I feel miserable, How come you never get the flu.

JOE
I take my precautions(he swallows a vitamin).

JULIE (getting something from the cupboard)
You're unbelievable, you know that. Always bursting with positive vibes

She tries to close the cupboard but it doesn't close. JOE comes up, closes it, kisses her goodbye.

JOE
Gotta go.

JULIE, on the telephone, obviously to a friend
I mean how can he always be so calm.

Scene: *JOE in a traffic jam. His watch indicates 9.00a.m.*

JULIE(voice only)
... always considerate...
Scene:
JOE opens the door to a lady at his workplace.

JULIE(voice only)
... always setting his own rules...
JOE comes ingto his office, he is dressed in a blue suit with a red T-shirt, while his other two colleagues are dressed in very formal grey suits and red ties.

JULIE (voice only)
... always getting the work done...

UTAM

The Department of Media and Communications

Undergraduate Practice Memorandum

Some guidance on the writing of Production Notes by first and second year students working in group-based project areas (except MC106)

Requirements:

`The concise set of Production Notes, of no more than 1,500 words, will describe in detail, the role of each student in the realisation of the production, paying particular regard to the assessment of their own levels of organisational and interpersonal skills in the production process`. (The 1997/8 Undergraduate Handbook)

Marking Criteria:

The criteria take into account ... *`the extent to which the student has achieved the stated specification. Credit will be given in all group work to the demonstration of effective interpersonal and organisational skills by individual students. The marking also takes into account the extent to which the student has produced a clear, concise, well-structured and executed presentation`.*

As all group members share the same mark for a given project, it is important to have a means whereby the marking process can take into account the contributions of individuals. The Notes are worth 33% of your final mark.

Some Guidance Points:

- Although your Course Tutor and Technical Adviser will have observed some of the production process at College, you must remember that we have to rely on *your Production Notes as the only evidence for the award of the mark* by the First, and Second Internal Examiners and the External Examiner. It is up to you then, to describe, *in detail,* each stage of the creative process. Of course you must be honest in your account as the Internal Examiners will have a range of Notes in front of them when they are marking.

- It is probably useful to remind you that it is not so much the *size* of your contribution to the production that is important, ***but its significance in the creative process***. Hopefully, the workload and tasks will have been reasonably well shared out between the group so that no-one feels they have done too much or too little towards the final product. If you feel you *are* in that situation then please explain in your Notes why you think that happened. It is likely however, that a very small contribution will be suitably reflected in the marking process.

- Although you are not asked to write a critical evaluation of the finished piece of work, you ***are*** expected to write critically of your own role in the production process that led to the product. For example, if you think a particular idea you had

as to how something should work, was successful, OR, after reflection, not successful, then do write about it. Programme making is mainly to do with the shaping of ideas, so it is far more important that you emphasise this process in your Notes, rather than just listing the technical processes involved noting who did what.

- If you would like to include any criticism of the final product, this will be welcomed, although marks will not be deducted if you do not wish to do so.

- You are asked to assess the application of your own levels of organisational and interpersonal skills in the production process and particular credit is given for the successful demonstration of them. It may be easier if you deal with this separately from the critical explanation of your role in the process.

- Which interpersonal skills did you apply and to what extent successfully? Teamwork is of course always very difficult, but as important as ever in a range of occupations both within and outside the media.
  Did you, for example, find negotiating with your fellow team members difficult at times? Was that their fault or yours or a mixture of the two? *How did your interpersonal skills contribute to the successful completion of the piece?*

- How did you apply organisational skills in the interests of the production, from good timekeeping to making complex plans, schedules or arrangements or to meeting the deadlines for each stage of the production?

- You do not have to describe what every member of your group did towards the finished piece of work. *Only what you did.*

- Aim to write between 1,200 and 1,500 words. Remember that the presentation of them is also important.

- Take time over the writing of the Notes as they could significantly affect your final mark. For example a project mark in the 50's could be markedly improved (or it has to be said, worsened) by the quality of the Notes. Likewise, a high project mark could be affected in similar ways.

- Make sure, of course, that you hand in your Notes on the deadline. This is an examined piece of work and must be treated like an examination paper.

John Beacham
Undergraduate Practice Co-ordinator 1997

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Pines, Jim: Black and White in Colour; BFI Publishing; London (1992).

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L'artiste est également témoin de son pays. Quand elle entendit sonner l'hallali contre *The Rape of Sita*, comment pouvait-elle demeurer insensible? Aucun créateur ne peut accepter le déni de parole. L'artiste prend position avec *The Rape Rap / Assemblage* VI (février 1994), un **LIVRE-OBJET** qui est à la fois Manifeste et Création. Auparavant, il y a eu *Le livre du temps* (1982 - 1993). Et témoin de son époque, elle a recours aux techniques de pointe comme dans ses 3D's et *INSTALLATIONS* avec utilisation de tubes, tambours de photocopieuses et vitres de voitures d'époque.

Mais auparavant, en juin 1993 un nouveau palier aura été franchi avec *DIOGENE OFFRE SA TERRE*. Il s'agit d'un Manifeste-Ecriture qui prend la mesure de la démarche de l'artiste commencée quinze ans plus tôt. L'*INTERACTION* des débuts prend une nouvelle dimension, pousse vers un nouvel enrichissement que j'appelerai *cross-fertilisation*. Diogène fait corps avec les **PHOTOS DOUBLÉES, MIROIR, REFLETS DOUBLES NÉCESSITANT DES DIFFÉRENCES DE TRAITEMENT, JOUANT SUR LA DUALITÉ, ET LA RENCONTRE DES OPPOSITIONS JOUR/NUIT, NOIR/BLANC.** Autre livre-objet de juin 1993, *DIOGENE OFFRE MA TERRE* - Assemblage III. Signalons que l'artiste offrira bientôt au public, **à même la rue**, son triptyque *Je T'offre Ma Terre, diogène offre sa Terre, Je t'Offre ma Parole*, confirmant sa manière de **PRECURSEUR**.

Comment ne pas être ébloui par cette oeuvre dont l'envergure embrasse et recouvre tout ce qui nous entoure, insulaires qui assistent aux déploiements des images, des éléments et des forces de la nature. Et c'est ainsi que l'**ILE** est le point de départ d'une exploration des assises minérales et de l'espace sidéral en même temps que de la vérité intérieure.

A SUIVRE LE TRAVAIL DE CERTAINS DE NOS ARTISTES CONTEMPORAINS, ON SE REND COMPTE QUE L'INFLUENCE DE JEANNE GERVAL AROUFF EST CONSIDÉRABLE. SES SIGNES, SA GESTUELLE, SES THEMES, SES COMPOSITIONS, SES MÉTAPHORES, SES MÉTHODES ET SA DÉMARCHE ONT FAIT ÉCOLE. Emanant d'une expérience originale, et d'avant-garde, sa cosmogonie, ses *pierreries, sa joaillerie des archives intérieures*, décorent de nombreux tableaux aujourdh'ui exposés mais à qui il manque parfois la substance intérieure. Je pense surtout à *Shrub-Concerto, Une Pour Tous, Grids of Chicago, Window of Light, Moonrise - Sample Repetition*, Ou Encore *From Rocks to Riches, Third Eye Song, Cosmic Song, The City that Never Sleeps, L'ile - Oeuf Cosmique, Republique Mosaique, Roots (masques Iii), Eclatement* Ou *Naissance, Cadran Solaire/Time Series/Table D'orientation, Jazz at Preservation Hall, I Sing because I am Free, The Almeta Speaks Blues Ensemble,* qui se retrouvent éparpillés, souvent transposés chez les uns et les autres.

Une oeuvre qui a montré la voie et fait tant honneur au pays mérite d'être connue à l'étranger. Lui fera-t-on justice?

J. Tsang Mang Kin. 20.6.94.

JOSEPH TSANG MANG KIN

Jeanne Gerval Arouff
Ile Maurice

FORMATION

1972 : Vient à la peinture en autodidacte.

1981 : Renonce à une carrière de manager de compagnie pour se consacrer à l'Art.

1982 : Stagiaire à l'Ecole d'Art et d'Architecture de Marseille - Luminy.
Travaille en atelier chez Zorko à Montparnasse.

1986 : Visite et échanges - Universités américaines.
Anthony Caro - Londres.

RECHERCHE

1976 - 1981 : Donne des cours d'Expression - ECHANGE ENTRE LES ARTS - interprétations chorégraphiques mi-improvisées de musiques avec peintures et sculptures... au Couvent de Lorette de Rose-Hill, au Lycée Labourdonnais, Forest-Side. Création d'un ballet pour les 25 ans du Lycée sur musique métissée.

Créatrice pluridisciplinaire, travaille en symbiose peinture-sculpture-photographie-écriture et espaces architecturaux

EXPOSITIONS

1972 - : Nombreuses expositions "Solo" et collectives à Maurice et à l'étranger.

1989 - : Installations et autres travaux en permanence à l'"ESPACE JEANNE GERVAL AROUFF"

ENSEIGNEMENT

1992 - 1993 : Chargée de cours à temps partiel d'Histoire de l'Art -Université de Maurice.

PUBLICATIONS

1984 : Nouvelle expérimentale "Sommeil ou le Messager du Bonheur".

1985 : Manifeste "Pour le Progrès des Arts Plastiques à l'Ile Maurice.

1990 : Livre -Sculpture "Je t'Offre ma Terre", hommage à l'Ile Maurice.

1990 - 1993 : La rubrique "Quotidien Femmes" à 5 Plus Magazine. 'The Rape Rap', 'The Rape Rap II'
1993 : "Diogene offre sa Terre" "Enfants de l'Ile Maurice"

Texte d'un court métrage "AVANCEES" lancé le 8 mars - 25 ans d'Indépendance de la Femme Mauricienne.

EDITION

1993 : Création de l' "ESPACE MULTIPLIANTS"

REMERCIEMENTS

à L'UNICEF *pour le financement de l'ouvrage*

à 5 PLUS *pour l'autorisation de publier des textes parus dans ses colonnes*

à :	**Mme Rajinee Kistnasamy Pillay pour sa photographie**	**Chp 29**
	Mme Brigitte Langlois	**Chp 31**
	Melle Danielle Florens	**Chp 32**
	Mme Lilian Berthelot	**Chp 33**
	Mme. J. Nauvel	**Chp 34**
	Monsieur France	**Chp 35**
	Mme Myriam Salmon pour celle de R.E. Hart	**Chp 45**
	Mme Jane Valls pour ses photographies	**Chp 48**
	Melle Joceline Minerve	**Chp 49**
	Mme Marcelle Lagesse pour celle de PESMES	**Chp 51**

L'épicentre d'une oeuvre magistrale

par Joseph Tsang Mang Kin

Comme un tremblement de terre dont on n'a nulle conscience quand il émet des signes annonciateurs et dont on ne connaît les ondes de choc que bien plus tard, ce qui force alors à en tenir compte, l'oeuvre de Jeanne Gerval ARouff a commencé il y a déjà un quart de siècle sans faire beaucoup de bruit. Si la presse en a parlé en son temps, et que l'on ait assisté à la progression tous azimuts de son inspiration, on peut dire que c'est bien maintenant que l'on se rend compte de l'étendue de cette oeuvre qui a eu tant d'influence sur les arts plastiques contemporains de l'île Maurice.

Il faudrait dire au départ que l'intensité et la richesse de l'inspiration de Jeanne Gerval ARouff trouvent leur épicentre dans une quête, un vécu qui pour s'exprimer ne dédaigne aucune matière. Témoin ce livre-sculpture, *JE T'OFFRE MA TERRE*, oeuvre originale et unique qui instaure une démarche orientée vers la synthèse, une volonté de saisir la réalité dans son intégralité. Ecrit en 1978, ce livre s'est enrichi d'iconographies.

Aucun genre ne doit demeurer étranger à l'artiste qui se fait l'âme vaste, universelle. Ce qui explique ses perambulations dans la peinture, la photographie, l'écriture, la sculpture et cette **INTERACTION DES DIFFÉRENTES DISCIPLINES** qui fait appel également à la musique et à la danse. Oeuvre à ambition prométhéenne, certes, mais combien exaltante. D'où *osmose* (1972), exécuté avec la photo et des techniques associées comme matériaux. D'où *metro boulot dodo* dont le quadrillage initial se maintiendra au fil des oeuvres dans la division de l'espace. D'où en 1974 *La Doublure* ou *Abba dans le Miroir*, qui démontre une **VISION NOUVELLE** représentée par la saisie d'un écho multiplié et transfiguré de la vision première.

Intervient en 1987 une exposition dont le thème sera, *TRACE*, une démarche omniprésente réunissant toutes les disciplines, à la manière composite avec appropriation d'empreintes, selon les *MÉMOIRES MÉMORISÉES* antérieures de l'artiste, *vestiges* - traces du corps sur bandes platrées 1983, ou encore disques durs, vinyl et autres, avec photocopie sur fond de peinture sur contreplaqué, *Memories For Ever Ours - 1983, Marronnage et Liberté 1989, Cadran Solaire (Time Series)* 1989. Et durant cette période, s'affirme la permanence des manières et des thèmes qui sont sans cesse renouvelés dans le mouvement, la spatialité, la multiplicité.

Le visible ne véhicule pas nécessairement l'essentiel, même pour le peintre. Jeanne Gerval ARouff sait plus que tout autre que le véridique ne se livre parfois que par images interposées, d'où le recours, dès le tout début de son itinéraire artistique, aux signes, aux symboles, aux archétypes. Ce qui l'amène à proclamer: **SOUS LE SCEAU DU SYMBOLE JE SIGNE DANS LE TEMPS LA TRACE INTEMPORELLE DU TEMPS.**

L'artiste-poète tout à l'écoute de soi est aussi témoin de son temps. Et une rencontre entre la conscience et l'évènement ne peut pas ne pas laisser de traces. C'est ainsi qu'en 1992, lors de l'accession de Maurice au statut de république, Jeanne Gerval ARouff nous donne *Une pour Tous* - C'est une alliance du geste, des symboles et du souffle-énergie qui devient écriture.

TROIS MAURICIENS PARLENT DE LA FEMME

DE LA FEMME

Kurt Barnes, Mauricien, psychologue et homme de communication, semble évoluer dans un triangle. A la base, une présence dense; à l'apex, rigueur et mansuétude se conjuguent. Nous vous partageons une conversation avec lui. Privilège d'amitié.

"La société s'est arrangée pour que la femme se perçoive inférieure par rapport à l'homme. Il est important pour les parents de s'engager pleinement au désamorçage de ce type de comportement que l'on transmet".

Kurt, tu retrouves tes compatriotes après une longue absence. Qu'as-tu à dire de la femme à Maurice?

- La femme à Maurice se trouve dans les mêmes dilemmes que l'Européenne. Évidemment, il y a des différences culturelles, dépendant du groupe ethnique auquel elle appartient. Il y a aussi des points communs, peu importe les groupes culturels, puisque très souvent elles sont allées dans des écoles communes, etc. Elles ont une formation commune, une certaine façon systématique, méthodique, de s'exprimer. Mais il y a aussi parfois des *'clash'* entre la société, l'ethnie, la caste dans laquelle elle a grandi, ce qu'on appelle ici la communauté, et, par ailleurs, ce qu'elle a acquis à l'école, à l'université. Dans le passé, on avait tendance à rester chez soi, à s'occuper de ses enfants, ce qui donnait une force considérable à la femme pour l'éducation des enfants. Qui aujourd'hui est sensiblement tempérée, non pas parce que les pères s'engagent davantage, mais parce que les mères s'engagent moins, dans la mesure où elles n'ont pas le temps. C'est alors la garderie qui s'occupe de l'enfant, ou une bonne, ou un parent. On accorde encore ce rôle plus à une femme qu'à un homme. Moi, par exemple, j'ai passé un temps important de ma vie et de ma carrière même à m'occuper de ma fille. Elle aura sept ans en décembre.

"Je me suis assuré qu'on ne puisse pas mettre ma fille en situation où elle se trouverait inférieure face à quelque concept que ce soit"

Travaillais-tu à mi-temps pour t'occuper de ta fille? Et si on n'a pas une profession libérale?

- Je travaillais moins. Étant à mon propre compte, c'était plus facile. C'est aussi une question de valeur. Travaillant à temps partiel, cela nous a permis d'accorder beaucoup plus d'attention à notre enfant. On ne l'a jamais laissée avec quelqu'un d'autre pour s'en occuper. Si on faisait tant d'avoir un enfant cela sous-entendait un certain engagement, sinon pas d'enfant du tout. Étant un être très entier, il me serait inacceptable que quelqu'un d'autre s'occupe de mon enfant. Malgré tous les diplômes que j'ai et toutes mes expériences, c'est celle que je chéris le plus. J'en suis profondément récompensé aujourd'hui. Nous avons des relations très étroites, très sentimentales. Quand je ne suis pas au pays, j'utilise le téléphone. Elle vit donc, presque toujours en cellule familiale. Pour ceux qui ne peuvent pas travailler à temps partiel, il y a des choix dans la vie. Il faut y penser au départ, gérer sa vie différemment et faire pour le mieux, pour que l'enfant s'épanouisse. Il faut savoir ce qu'on veut achever dans son enfant, dans quelle mesure on est disposé à voir certaines conséquences dans l'éducation de cet enfant plus tard. Je me suis assuré qu'on ne puisse pas mettre ma fille en situation où elle se trouverait inférieure face à quelque concept que ce soit.

Parti de la femme, ce n'est donc pas un déracinement que de mettre l'accent sur les relations parents/enfants?

- *"Child is father to man", et non "Child is mother to man"*. C'est essentiel. La capacité de la femme de s'exprimer, de réussir sa vie, est en rapport aussi avec ce qu'on lui a donné étant enfant. La société, pour des raisons peut-être psychobiologiques, s'est arrangée à conditionner la femme de sorte qu'elle se sente, qu'elle se perçoive inférieure par rapport à l'homme. Et qu'elle se comporte comme telle, surtout. Ce qui renchérit l'attitude. Il est important pour les parents de s'engager pleinement au désamorçage de ce type de comportement que l'on transmet. La femme repasse les mêmes stéréotypes à ses enfants. Inconsciemment. Il est très important de pouvoir jouer avec ses enfants, ne pas se mettre en situation constante d'autorité. Sinon, on brise la relation particulière. Il faut surveiller son enfant très tôt pour faire éclore son potentiel.

C'est rare que les services viennent à vous quand vous en avez besoin. Le manque d'esprit de recher-

qu'on ne peut accuser de parti pris de gauche, constate que l'abîme entre riches et pauvres ne fait que croître à l'intérieur et entre les pays. 1/3 des 20% des gens les plus riches dans le monde se trouve dans les pays des 2/3 monde. Cela ne suffit pas pour dire que le développement a réussi, au contraire. Selon l'Unicef, 40,000 enfants meurent chaque jour de maladies évitables.

Depuis 1939, il n'y a pas une année sans qu'il n'y ait une guerre quelque part. La guerre demeure le moyen de régler (de ne pas régler, en fait) des problèmes. Ces guerres sont necessaires au "développement" dont nous parlons car le militaire et l'industrialisation sont intrinséquement liés. Alors que depuis le siècle dernier des mouvements de femmes demandent la mise à l'index de la guerre, ce n'est que cette année-ci que l'Eglise Catholique commence à se démarquer de la théorie de la "guerre juste". Les évêques français justifient encore les essais nucléaires des militaires français dans le Pacifique malgré l'opposition des peuples de cette région. Ils le font au nom du réalisme, un réalisme de mâles et en plus ils n'ont pas d'enfants. La guerre est au centre de l'économique. **La guerre du Golfe a servi à la glorification du "Bombardier invisible". Ce qu'il y avait d'invisible c'est que chaque bombardier coûte PRESQUE SON POIDS EN OR.** L'industrie de la guerre même après les changements en URSS, est florissante. Les missiles essentiels aux "bombardiers invisibles" coûteraient 12 milliards 100 millions de roupies PIECE et l'armée américaine en a commandé ce mois-ci plus de

L'épouse qui aujourd'hui encore dit 'Mon mari travaille à X, moi je reste à la maison' ou bien 'Je ne travaille pas', est atteinte de la cécité produite par une société dominée par les hommes"

800 à la Northrop.

A un moment où on parle beaucoup de démocratie, donc de la nécessité de plus de transparence, de plus d'informations vraies, la guerre du Golfe a révélé combien l'opinion mondiale a été "désinformée".

Après la guerre, les télévisions et agences de Presse américaines ont dénoncé les mensonges des militaires et des politiciens qu'ils avaient eux-mêmes diffusés, "pour que la guerre du Golfe ne soit pas un nouveau Viét-Nam".

La guerre était "propre" parce que les 1000 officiers en charge du contrôle de l'information avaient passé celle-ci au détergent. Il y a eu plus de civils de tués que de militaires alors que toutes les télévisions ne nous montraient que des missiles intelligents supposés n'atteindre que des militaires.

Qu'est la guerre sinon la manifestation de la violence que nous les mâles avons inscrites au coeur de nos sociétés? Le scandale de la violence contre les femmes dont nous commençons seulement à prendre conscience, en est un autre aspect.

Tout est à réinventer pour construire un monde plus humain pour la majorité des hommes et des femmes.

Cela commence par un engagement dans une lutte pour la vérité. Lutte contre les images fausses anciennes ou nouvelles. Lutte pour redessiner une image du monde qui reflète mieux la réalité. Lutte pour faire entendre des voix réprimées ou marginalisées. Lutte au niveau du langage lui-même : dire "les hommes ont amené le monde au bord de la catastrophe" c'est cacher que ce sont en fait les mâles qui en portent la responsabilité. **Il faut aussi que les opprimés et les marginalisés réécrivent l'histoire à partir de leurs souffrances et de leurs luttes, et fassent réémerger** ce que Michel Foucault appelle **les "mémoires dangereuses".** Dangereuses **parce qu'elles font éclater les mythes sur lesquels repose le pouvoir.**

Un exemple : ce n'est pas aujourd'hui que des femmes chrétiennes réclament la pleine participation aux décisions dans leurs églises. Au début du christianisme des femmes ont joué un rôle-clé avant d'être marginalisées, et d'être forcées au silence. Au moyen âge, en Europe, la chasse aux sorcières a été la répression physique de celles qui osaient occuper des espaces que les hommes s'étaient réservés en manipulant la Bible.

Il n'y a qu'une façon pour redessiner une image plus réelle ; que ceux-là qui souffrent d'une même situation d'injustice partagent leurs peines et leurs souffrances, fassent entendre leurs voix à temps et à contretemps, et partagent leurs rêves.

Un autre domaine où la domination des hommes affecte profondément les femmes est le domaine économique. Le mythe sur lequel certains essaient de reconstruire le monde est celui de la "victoire d'une économie de marché libre". **Peut-on parler de la victoire d'une économie de la misère de la majorité des habitants de la terre?** Alors que la dette des pays des 2/3 monde insérés dans cette économie atteint 20,800,-000,000,000 - 20 mille milliards de roupies (la dette intérieure et extérieure des Etats-Unis est presque du même ordre). Alors que les pays pauvres, depuis 1985 transfèrent vers les pays riches plus d'argent qu'ils en reçoivent - En 1991, 1280 milliards de roupies selon les estimations -. Selon le directeur de l'UNICEF, 400,000 enfants sont morts dans les 12 derniers mois des conséquences du repaiement de la dette. Il semble y avoir corrélation entre repaiement de la dette et la baisse de l'espérance de vie et l'augmentation du taux de mortalité infantile dans certains pays.

Une faible partie du marché est vraiment libre. 40% du marché international se passe à l'intérieur des Transnationales comme Nestlé, General Motors et a très peu à voir avec les "prix du marché". Une autre partie importante de ce marché se passe entre les gouvernements.

Le plus grave c'est que cette réduction de l'économie du "marché" rend aveugle à la contribution totale des femmes à l'économie et justifie ainsi leur peu de pouvoir que nous leur concédons. Elle est basée sur la conception qu'"experts" économiques et politiques en grande majorité mâles ont de la production et du travail. N'est "travail" que ce qui peut être mesuré en argent, ce qui peut s'échanger contre de l'argent.

Il a fallu des années pour amener à reconnaître que les femmes produisent, en Afrique, 80% de la nourriture, en Asie 60% et en Amerique du Sud 40%. Une étude de la FAO montre comment, au Pérou, la contribution des femmes à l'agriculture était de 86% au lieu des 2.5% que proclamaient les statistiques officielles. Dans le monde, 1 foyer sur 3 a une femme comme seul gagne-pain.

Une grande partie de la contribution des femmes à la survie et à la vie de la population est hors du marché : travail domestique, soin des bébés, enfants, personnes âgées, malades, l'entraide, la solidarité, le volontariat....

Pour diminuer l'impact de la reconnaissance de la contribution des femmes, on parle beaucoup de leur "travail invisible", comme on parle des soi-disant "coûts invisibles" d'une entreprise. Si quelque chose existe et je ne la vois pas, je peux soit dire qu'elle est invisible ou bien reconnaître que je suis aveugle en ce qui la concerne. Dire qu'elle est invisible c'est faire de ma façon de voir le centre du monde. Reconnaître que je suis aveugle c'est remettre en question ma façon de voir et d'être.

"Qu'est la guerre sinon la manifestation de la violence que nous les mâles avons inscrite au coeur de nos sociétés? Le scandale de la violence contre les femmes dont nous commençons à prendre conscience, en est un autre aspect"

Quand naguère je disais "Mon père travaille à X, mais ma mère reste à la maison", j'étais aveugle à ses longues heures de travail. Quand elle me demandait d'aller à la boutique acheter des commissions, je considérais qu'elle me demandait un service, une faveur que j'étais libre ou pas d'accepter.

L'épouse qui aujourd'-hui encore dit "Mon mari travaille à X, moi je reste à la maison" ou bien "je ne travaille pas", est atteinte de la même cécité produite par une société dominée par les hommes. **L'exploitation est totale quand la victime considère sa situation comme normale, naturelle, ou voulue de Dieu, ou quand elle la transforme en l'habillant sous des dehors de sacrifice et de géné-rosité.** Ou alors quand elle se blâme elle-même pour son état de victime. Comme le font des femmes battues qui commencent par chercher dans leur propre comportement et dans la "nature de l'homme" des explications à la violence de leurs agresseurs. **La violence contre les femmes n'est ni pardonnable, ni excusable. Il ne s'agit pas de la comprendre mais bien de la déraciner de nos sociétés.**

Dans les millieux où je travaille, j'entends souvent des mâles du 1/3 monde, - ou plutôt des 2/3 monde - dire que la libération de la femme est un agenda occidental, un problème de femmes occidentales ou occidentalisées. Ce sont en général des hommes eux-mêmes hautement occidentalisés et qui doivent leur pouvoir à cette occidentalisation que ce soit dans les églises ou dans la politique. On peut douter de leur honnêteté intellectuelle.

"Au début du christianisme des femmes ont joué un rôle clé avant d'être marginalisées, et d'être forcées au silence"

D'autres disent que la libération des femmes est dépassée. C'est vrai que les luttes des femmes ont déjà corrigé certains des effets pervers de la domination des hommes dans les domaines religieux, social, politique et économique.

Certaines structures et façons de penser ont changé plus ou moins selon les pays. Mais ces luttes n'ont pas encore atteint la logique même de nos sociétés.

S'il y a tellement peu de femmes dans la politique là où ça compte c'est bien parce que la façon dont les mâles l'ont organisée ne le leur permet pas.
La révolution nécessaire est encore à faire. Dans un certain sens, **la libération devrait peut-être être remplacée par une insurrection des femmes.**

Des organisations suisses avaient décrété une grève des femmes le 14 juin 1991. Beaucoup avaient souri à cette annonce et leur sourire s'est transformé en sourire jaune le jour de la grève.

Ma solidarité avec la lutte des femmes est profondément égoïste. Ma propre libération que je ne peux atteindre que dans un monde plus humain et plus juste, ma survie, comme la survie de la planète sont liées au succès de leurs luttes.

11 octobre 91

LA FEMME ET LES FEMMES SELON CHAZAL

Ni étude, ni évangile. Survol. Paroles choisies de 4 des quelque 55 livres publiés de l'auteur qui amusent, provoquent colère, indignation, suscitent réflexion. Au risque de s'y reconnaître. Malcolm de Chazal, est-il ce total misogyne que l'on dit? S'il maltraite souvent les femmes, le mage mauricien ôte son sempiternel feutre devant la femme.

"La femme? Pour le sage, un tremplin ; pour l'idéaliste, un puits; pour le reste des hommes une habitude."

Mais au même volume des "Pensées", Chazal écrit :

"A l'égard des femmes tout consiste à être fou à temps et sage à point... Elles font passer les questions d'amour avant tout... même avant les hommes."

Plus loin,

"Pour la femme la loi de l'amour c'est la loi de la jungle: bec et ongles."

Il n'est pas tendre, le philosophe :

"Certaines femmes sont perfides jusqu'au point d'être traîtres envers leur propre coeur."

Que lui renvoie d'autre son miroir des femmes devant l'amour et dans l'amour? Consultons le volume 6.

"Dans les audaces physiques de l'amour, les hommes osent par étapes, et les femmes d'un trait..."

Serait-ce de l'intuition? Il en est qui assurent que Chazal ne côtoyait pas les femmes.

"Combien de femmes dans l'amour n'arrivent jamais au dessert, et combien d'hommes n'engloutissent que le premier plat!"

Comment résister à la succulente parole Chazalienne?

"Combien de femmes, vierges du regard,
Combien de vierges, femmes des yeux !"

Le penseur, placerait-il femmes et petits pains sur le même plan? Ou, les femmes, seraient-elles l'indispensable soutien de vie?

"Une faim chasse l'autre. En temps de famine, les femmes remplacent le pain."

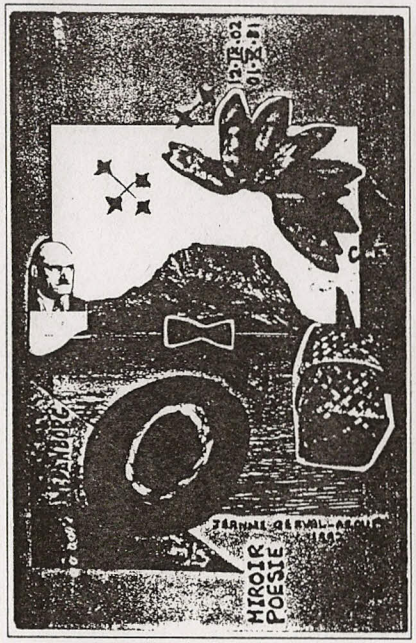
Et du style?

"Un fond embrouillé sous un langage clair... elles placent leur vertu à ne rien faire de mal qui peut être dit."

Avant de lancer au diable les "Pensées", apprécions :

"Femme, ô toi que Dieu a faite pour être le soubassement de la vie et que l'égoïsme de l'homme a changé en sables mouvants."

Et retenons la page 64 du volume 3 :



Malcolm de Chazal par Jeanne Gerval-Arouff (1992)

"La femme est intuitive, et l'homme lucide. La femme sait et l'homme voit. La femme constate et l'homme prouve. La femme est forte en thème et l'homme en systèmes."

"La Vie Filtrée", une des oeuvres majeures du mage, celle qui éclaire son Grand Oeuvre, approuve :

"La pensée de l'homme est directe, son esprit est avant tout par lignes de raisonnements, son intelligence va droit au but. La femme est inapte à cet exercice... toutes les formes de penser des femmes sont en lignes courbes... Cette pensée qui passe d'un objet à un autre n'ayant aucun lien direct dans le visible, cette forme de pensée qui enjambe et qui passe de causes à effets sans argumentations intermédiaires - ce mode de penser est celui de l'intuition transcendantale que certains rares esprits masculins possèdent, mais dont toute femme est nantie de naissance..."

Chazal soutient son raisonnement
"Dans le domaine de la pensée, la femme a la perception géante, l'intuition immense, le sens divinatoire incomparable, mais ces éclairs fulgurants, aussitôt formés, meurent sur place, par impouvoir de se condenser, par incapacité de se mouvoir dans les mots. L'éclair y est, mais la foudre ne paraît pas."

La femme, n'aurait-elle pas le Verbe?

"Sens plastique" souligne cette dimension de la femme, force psychique nécessaire à l'action masculine.

Femme, force, volonté transcendantale que Chazal nomme volonté spirituelle. Elle est souffle invisible du vent qui actionne l'arbre, réceptacle par excellence, conduit d'un pouvoir-message qui donne visage à l'action masculine.

"Si les coups de sonde de l'esprit mâle ne sont pas aussi pénétrants que le sont les envolées intuitives féminines dans le domaine de la vie, l'homme en retire cependant une moisson plus utile pour les besoins des peuples par le fait de son immense pouvoir de concrétisation," (La Vie Filtrée).

Et Sens Plastique:

"Seul l'homme connaît le printemps des idées; la femme, elle, est un éternel été-symboles, respectivement, de l'esprit créateur qui bourgeonne et rebourgeonne sans finalité, et le vase épanoui de l'intuition, récepteur en permanence de l'universel message de la vie, telle une radio ouverte sur toutes les ondes".

Cela expliquerait-il la présence de la femme dans les coulisses des grands hommes -qu'ils soient Homme-Dieu ou hommes appelés à être Dieu? La Vierge Marie et le Christ, Marthe et les disciples, Mary Haskell et Kahlil Gibran, Joséphine et Napoléon, Béatrice Portinari et Dante Alighieiri...

La femme est conseillère, comme dans la mythologie. Le roi Numa, ne se retire-t-il pas maintes fois dans la forêt d'Aricie pour recevoir les conseils de la nymphe Egérie?

"Car si l'homme commande et dit commander dans la vie physique du couple, vie pour laquelle physiquement il est mieux fait, la femme doit posséder les initiatives morales car non seulement l'homme est un pygmée dans ce domaine mais l'attirance des sens fausse à tout instant son jugement." (La Vie Filtrée)

D'après Malcolm de Chazal, le psychisme de la femme est plus profond, plus cohérent plus réceptif que celui de l'homme.

"Si l'intelligence féminine est plus fragile que l'intelligence mâle dans les bords, au centre et dans le noyau même de son esprit, la femme a une structure psychologique et psychique plus cohérente que nous." (La Vie Filtrée)

La femme serait moins taillée à l'efficience de l'organisation extérieure. Elle connaît et vit plus intensément mais son aptitude à traduire et transmettre serait plus restreinte que celle de l'homme. D'où une vie extérieure à l'apparence moins solide, moins organisatrice, moins dominante que celle de l'homme. Toutefois, certaines de ses actions éclatent d'éclairs intérieurs. Alors c'est une perle que peu d'hommes peuvent produire. Ainsi parle Chazal dans *Sens Plastique:*

"Les paroles des femmes sont comme des huîtres perlières : Il faut en ouvrir un grand nombre pour y découvrir une perle.
Mais quand enfin on en découvre une, elle est de taille, et dépasse de beaucoup tout ce qu'il y a de plus grand dans les plus belles coquilles doubles du plus beau cerveau masculin..."

Décembre 1990
Revu en Décembre 1992

"Femme-Multipliant" de Jeanne Gerval-Arouff (1992) pour illustrer "un fond embrouillé sous un langage clair" Chazal

On Digital 'Third Worlds'

An interview with Christian Hoeller, *Springer Magazine*

Original interview published in German in *Springer: Hefte fuer Gegenwartskunst* , Vienna, Austria, September 1996
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Springer: **In your contribution to the big Cyberconference in Madrid you made a quite strong and compelling point about the "New World Other" of cyberspace. The argument in brief is that the glorious promises of cyberspace do not apply to large sections of the world population, especially in Africa. What do these "new world borders" exactly look like and where particularly are they felt most strongly? Do they really coincide with the old borders between First and Third Worlds?**

Oguibe: I think your question may be answered from the back. The borders amplified by the cartography of cyberspace are not exactly new; they are the old borders of class and disposition long identified by numerous schools of sociopolitical thought, cutting across national and political boundaries and thus specificatory of a different geography.

The 'third world' of cybertechnology and cybertheory, what has been refered to as the 'digital third world', is a global territory that runs through what I consider the virtual--that is to say, simulacral--borders of the present first/third categories, ultimately exposing the ludicrousness of these delineations. In other words there are, in truth, no first and third worlds along lines of physical geography; these categories are rather socioeconomic, and it is these homogeographical borders that are replicated in the politics and cartography of cyberspace.

In Madrid, Gomez-Pena repeated an old but most pertinent call to discard the old, deceptive categories of so-called first and third worlds. What he meant, I believe, is not to ignore the chasms or dismiss the categories, but to redefine them; to recognize that the third world is not Africa or Latin America or Portugal, for that matter, but those as well as the very belly of America and England and the rest of Europe. The point is to recognize that the real 'third world'--and that's a term I consider somewhat inappropriate and misleading--is a global zone that comprizes the deprived neighborhoods of the United States from California through Chicago to New York as it does Madras and Chad. Given, the dichotomies between the highly- and the less industrialized worlds are of enormous and quite decisive relevance in many respects; yet the specific factors that define individual lives are not determined entirely by those dichotomies.

from *Hypatia* Volume 13, Number 2

Globalizing Feminist Ethics

ALISON M. JAGGAR

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The feminist conception of discourse offered below differs from classical discourse ethics. Arguing that inequalities of power are even more conspicuous in global than in local contexts, I note that a global discourse community seems to be emerging among feminists, and I explore the role played by small communities in feminism's attempts to reconcile a commitment to open discussion, on the one hand, with a recognition of the realities of power inequalities, on the other.

Global trade and interaction are not new but their current intensification is unprecedented.[1] Local communities have never been completely closed but now their boundaries have become so porous that people speak of community disintegration. Economies have never been entirely self-sufficient but never before has international trade been so crucial to the prosperity and even the survival of local economies. These developments have raised new problems for moral and political philosophy and so for feminist ethics.

Women are located at the center of these contemporary developments. They constitute a large and increasing portion of the labor force in many newly industrializing as well as industrialized countries; they (with their children) constitute 80 percent of the world's refugees; they are trafficked in a world wide prostitution trade; and their bodies are the site of technological interventions designed both to promote and to control fertility. At the same time, women are frequently taken as emblems of cultural integrity, so that defending beleaguered cultures becomes equated with preserving traditional forms of femininity, especially as these are manifest in traditional female dress and practices of marriage and sexuality. Thus, women are situated in the vortex of contending social forces: on the one hand, centripetal tendencies toward increasing globalization and integration and, on the other hand, centrifugal tendencies toward nationalism and fragmentation.

Contemporary moral theory reproduces these tensions, counterposing a universalistic discourse of human rights against approaches such as communitarianism and postmodernism which emphasize the local and so are often construed as relativist. In this context, philosophers' increasing rejection of moral foundationalism makes it difficult to see how conventional and local norms may be subjected to systematic moral critique. My larger project, from which this paper emerges, is to develop an account of practical moral reason that shows how respect for cultural difference may be combined with claims to postconventional moral objectivity. In developing this account, I draw on the dialogical tradition in Western moral theory that stretches from Plato, through Locke and Kant, to Rawls and Habermas, and I take seriously the values that lie at the heart of this tradition, including the values of discursive equality, openness and inclusiveness. In addition to being inspired by this philosophical tradition, my own understanding of practical discourse is also shaped by reflection on the discursive practices of recent feminist grassroots activism in North America.[2]

As developed by Karl-Otto Apel and Juergen Habermas, classical discourse ethics defines moral justification in terms of universal consensus in conditions of domination-free communication. This definition is often derided as utopian--and so ultimately skeptical--for reasons that include not only practical difficulties of establishing universal discourse but also what appear to be insurmountable difficulties of principle, notably the impossibility of implementing like domination-free communication. Yet even though such problems are even more conspicuous in global than in local contexts, the beginnings of a global discourse community nevertheless seem to be emerging among feminists. These beginnings are most visible in official and semiofficial venues, such as the several UN Conferences on women since 1975 and their accompanying

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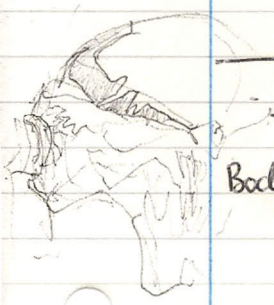
~~Ref~~ MC 202. Lecture 7.

Rethinking the Universal Subject.

Classical psychology = defined on the basis of a set of fixed underlying stable characteristics.

Critique - 'changing the subject' (1984)
Henriques -



Foucault, Althusser and Lacan.

Body of Social theory - Post 68 theorisers. (after May 68).
- Post Marxist. (Failure of Marxist).

→ Argued against University of psychology.

→ Psychology seen to produce part of our identities.

→ Psy created the discourses of the human nature / ourselves

Foucault - processes of subjectification.

Subjectification - process through which we develop knowledges about ourselves.

Concepts:- - freedom,
Choice

For Foucault many late ~~20th~~ human sciences are actually sciences of human control.
→ Psychology produces & signifiers as much as the media.

- anti-realist epistemology

- psy disciplines - technologies of subjectification.

normative ideal → present in psychology as in other social practices.

History of sexuality

1. - explores ways of understanding ourselves which now seem strange.

Nicholas Rose :-

- Consumerism

- Advertising :- central idea :
  independence.
  invite us to see ourselves as subjects who are free to choose.

- Rose :- Why is freedom of choice such a central freedom.
  Why not - harmony, . . .

---

1 Signifier / Signified.

Signs gain meaning as differentiated from other signs within a wider system of meaning.

Meaning - always relational.

Criminality
impulsive, loner, maladjusted, deviant, immoral, no regard for others, irresponsible, irrational, animal like, aggressive, violent

Criminality seen as an absence of particular normative characteristics.

Any difference from the normative image signifies as otherness.

1970s. **Frankfurt School**: Positivism + Hypodermic Syringe model.
= mindless monolithic mass of consumers.
Traditional Marxism – already outdates 1950s.
– Marxist Political Economy

SEMIOTICS – another trend- textual analysis. → **SAUSSURE** + **BARTHES**
– Primacy of text, no place for identity.

1970s. → Recently.

New Audience Research :- Morley. + **BOURDIEU.**
SOCIOLOGICAL
= Active audiences.
class-conditioning - habitus.

Cultural identity

1974 **Foucault.** → Post '68 theory. – **HISTORY OF SEXUALITY.**
= Identity central in the discursive field.
– discourse as exercise of power.

Identity = Arena of ~~discourse~~ discursive power.

Recent. **PSYCHOANALYSIS** – Valerie Walkerdine. – **VIDEO REPLAY.**
Identity = enactment of fantasy.

Individual identity.

Lack →

LACAN. → French FREUD. + [late 1940's- ~~Post 68.~~ 1950's] – but similar themes to Post '68 theory.
Identity = language,
Ideology hails us.

DADA + SAUSSURE + ~~FREUD~~

completes **Foucault.**

Robert McKee – Story :-

The Hero has an **essentialist identity.**
His barriers come from without.
Doubts are not inherent to his personality, they are exterior. to himself and he has to overcome them at the end of film. by rediscovering his essential self.

90's – Spread of **Anti-heroes** – **Natural born killers.**
– But they are portrayed essentially as **other** –> they are deviant.
not us.

fulfilment of fantasy – the popularity of chat shows.

Freud- Identification - ambivalent process

* dependent on Oedipus complex.

↓

Love / hate ~~of~~ →

HATE OF THE FATHER,

YET FATHER IS VOICE OF LAW.
- FEAR OF CASTRATION.

CONCLUSION ? ? →

Identity is an central process in understanding consumption. Through the theories we have seen, the general contention is against the essentialist notion of identity.

While sociological prospects place ~~to~~ cultural ~~determinant~~ identity as determinant in inferring meaning, we have seen that it is limited. We can ~~be~~ stipulate that it is completed by psychoanalysis - where the ~~text is seen to~~ relation between consumption and identity is seen to be ~~one of~~ almost pathological, consumption is that of identities which ~~being~~ incomplete, seek fulfilment through fantasy. Foucault has shown us how ~~cons~~ identity is an arena where discourses act, through the process of consumption and how this process constructs the exercise of power. Consumption ~~is therefore a~~ and identity are fundamentally ~~are~~ linked which ~~is why~~ un. Through our ~~brief~~ analysis of both cultural & individual identity, we have seen that consumption is far from being a banal and innocent process.

ॐ

Ben Pimlot in 'The Queen'

(1) 1837- Victoria clearly had bad press for the ~~first half of~~ her reign.

1) when she was suffering from psychological problems.
- newspapers accused her of 'not earning her keep'.
- seen as obsolete.
- as an unjust form of power. tyrannical
- Northern Star - saw coronation as expensive and superfluous

(2) Incident Lady Flora Hastings.
- accused of being pregnant, forced to retire.
- blamed at home - Tory families angry

However after a severe ~~stress~~ nervous breakdown, returned to throne
→ set things right

1860- Rise of republicanism, anti-royalism.
1870 - Collapse - press became royalist.
1887 →97 - Victoria transformed, symbol of achievement.
on a pedestal.

Relations - media image

20th C. 1901- Death of Queen Vic.
- Royalty kept a certain tradition, which was supported be press image.
- After the war (1st.) - media used ~~the~~ it as an icon to boost morale.
- ~~The~~ Newsreels, papers depicted royalty sharing the grief of underdeveloped parts of London.
- The big family - concept.
happy family on the balcony.

George ~~the~~ VI - seen as a father figure
- newsreels of family in garden

1932 - First Christmas message.

Then came the Abdication crisis.
~~George~~ Duke of Windsor - w/ Mrs Simpson.

British pop tried to hide it.

50's 1952 - Queen Liz on Throne.

→ Coronation - 7½ hours of non-stop footage.

→ newspaper owners had friends at court.
wanted to keep connection.

→ Owner of Daily Express.

→ Incident w/ Lord Altringham who spoke about what he disliked on the queen in a program called impact, lost his title.

Press still strongly in control.

60's Princess Margaret catches attention
- romance ~~w/ Captain~~ married photo

- popular press - clubbing. short skirts
swimsuits - first paparazzi

Ray Belizario.

→ Editor of Sunday Express who used photo apologised and paparazzi was chased by detectives

→ However the interest in Queen was declining.

⟹ The change - arrival of new press office encouraged more media interaction.

Royal soap-opera.
'Royal family'

→ Murdoch & the Sun.
- being criminal - Australian.
→ wanted to export westerners.

2 phases. Golden age - somewhere betwee 37 to early 50's & 60's.

(1) Major problem - Hollywood domination.
- → common language
- → technological advances.
- → different cultural ~~to~~ context.
- → reliance on American capital.

(2) • Practices of block, blind booking.
to counteract - Quota introduced in 1927. Cinematograph films act. at least 7½ % for exhibs. & 5 % for distributors → 20 % by 1936.
Quota - led to Gaumont-British & British International pictures.

Should have ensured constant Market. ~~but no~~
but problem of Quota Quickies as Julian Petley says in All our Yesterdays.

-problem — of definition as to what British is

~~1927 quota revised - showed~~
30's

Sound killed the quota companies in 1931.
only British International & Gaumont British survived.

1933 Success with Korda - The secret life of ~~through~~ launched wave of big budget films.
→ big studios.
→ although films did not succeed in America British film making still big business worth £7 million in production, America interested, Teddington studios by Warner.

War brought disruption but also American help - George formby films.

60's boom. flow of American money flooded in Sayp & Petley.

- Britain seen as 'swinging london'
- popularity of Beatles. Rolling Stones made Britain interesting for youth culture. So many films were made in that direction - Alfie.
  - James Bond films.

- however a ~~slow~~ nemesis ~~was~~ was rising. in way - bankruptcy in Hollywood

1969 - MGM lost $35 million.

70's - TV + popularity of American films (Easy Riders, Raging Bull) -

80's - ~~sort of reemergence~~.
Bleak -
reemergence with a couple of films.

Block booking illegal in 46 - killed off merger of Rank & Universal beforehand.

MC 10Ep Lecture 4.
Film & press history. 1918 - 1939.

1/ Content & structure
growth of entertainment.
— of audience
— of local monopoly.

2/. Modern shift to the left: Rise of Daily Herald, and changes in daily Mirror and Sunday Pictorial.
(↓ used to be right wing - true with Hitler (1930's))

rise of labour
adjudstment of Market System

3/ Detachment from Party System

Anti-waste League
United Empire Party.
Fascist.

→ For the 1st time 2 brit. papers deliberately sought a labour readership due to market pressure.
— Sun. Mirror, Sunday Pictorial

Advertisers → more conscious. working class a better market.
- the average man bought the petty ~~object~~ products more, with steady rise of salary.

∴ A shift in press + in market system

→ At beg^ng of 1930's - Press strongly financed by Parties- Conservatives.

Close interpenetration bet press & politics

Why? A no of proprietors broke loose.

Anti-waste league - tried to persuade Govt. to → bring people to stop spending on petty objects & to privatise public utilities
→ willed & died

United Empire Party — Press party —
again short, tremendous success

- one Daily ~~was~~ became fascist & ~~was~~ had an editorial against the jews in Germany. — (Rodermere! or something like that).

↳ See Curran

Film.

First commercial film - shown in 1856.

British Cinema up to 1939: Audiences, Ownership & control.

1. Growth of Cinemas & Film Going.
1600 Cinemas in 1910; 4671 in 1940
1027 million cinema ~~baths~~ sold in 1940.

2/. Gwth of Oligopoly.

Cinema Chains: Gaumont Brith., ABC, Odeon.

prodc'tion: Gaumont Brth & Odeon.

3/ Gwth of film censorship.

Voluntary / compulsory system.
Moral & political censorship.

- Public concerned aroused with a fire.
↓/
pernicious effect of Cinema on minds
↓
A voluntary censorship was form. ←

→ made sure that proper censorship were carried out.

This cens. board - could kill any film by denying any classification to it.

- decided to codify rules. - 43 rules - 1920.

Films attacking Hitler & Mussolini were not allowed.

The only escape - another circuit

↳ Students
↳ Trade Unions

but : restricted public.
COSTS

Fig 3 → Relative failure of British Industry.

1/ → Economic advantages of Hollywood
especially economies of scale, bloch & blind booking.

2/ Cultural and political advantages of US film industry.
& restricted nature of British films.

3/ Need for ~~protection~~ protective legislation : 1927 & 1938.

↳ producing subscript copies cost cheaper - mass production → exhorbitant

USA - had lower unit cost = they could spend more on their film.

→ Star system - produced
→ ensured sustained audience.

Success breeds success.

Through block-booking & blind booking - British Cinema could be used

↳ They could package movies.

↓

package great movies starring e.g.: Greta Garbo

- available at cheap prize only if one buys a nº of others.

eg | 6-pack | ⟶ | AAABAA | A-American
B-British

America → heterogenous society
produced movies for heterogenous people

culture of → usualisations, space, etc...

⟶ Parliament banned booking - imposed quota

without this legislation. British industry would probably have survived.

Fig 4. Traditionalism of British Films.

1/ International blockbuster: Costume drama tradition eg. Sanders of the River.

2/ Grade market eg. Grade Fields & George Formby

- Higson: - image of stable community or individuality of US movie tradition.

Founding of BBC.

1. Expedient administrative soln
2. No powerful commercial lobby // as opp. to America.
3. Exp^ence of central plan^ng
4. 'Evangelical' conception of public service.
   universal service.
   Mixed prog^ming.
   std's.; educate the people.
   ambiguous statism → 1.
   anti-market
   profess^al ideology.
5. Agent: John Reith. ← passed test — wanted at heart for BBC to be independent.

1. One hand - BBC - was regarded as a vested interest investment.
   some thought other - BBC should be independent.

Matthew Arnold - role of state is to civilise society - moral, cultural progress - BBC should be maintained at the educative level - should be run by working-middle-class

1922.

Evolution of BBC (20's - 30's)

1/ Gwth of Audience
71 % households by 1939.

2/ Centralisation : national service.

3/ Gwth of public affairs coverage.

4/ Inching forwards independence.

SOS series in 1933.
Time to Spare 1934.
Other People's Homes ~~1933~~ 1933
And tactical retreat

5/ Market Adaptation.

rise of entertainment.
consolidation : reorganisation 1940.

Reid ---
David Cardiff :
a social history of broadcasting.

1930's - right of editing acquired

Govt.

BBC tried to break free.
in 1931- talk series - Experts talking about unemployment

- Center-left experts allowed to microphone.
- SOS series of talks about unemployment -

- followed by 12-part series
  - Time to Spare. produced by Philip GREENE
  - unemployed allowed to intervene
  - Cmed ways in which means test was carried out.

Labour party used it as a battering ground.

- Other people's homes- MARSHALL - presented. (sports commentated).
  -slums.
  MARSHALL accused of speaking with a tear in his voice.

Since the date of renewal of charter was approaching, the talk-figures were sent to places like Manchester ---

BBC retreat-

BBC - backed Govt. heavily in the appeasement policy.
People against the appeasement were not allowed to the microphone

Churchill never forgave them.

Schedules not regular - to keep the people looking.

in course of 1930's
→ more tuned towards popular pleasures.

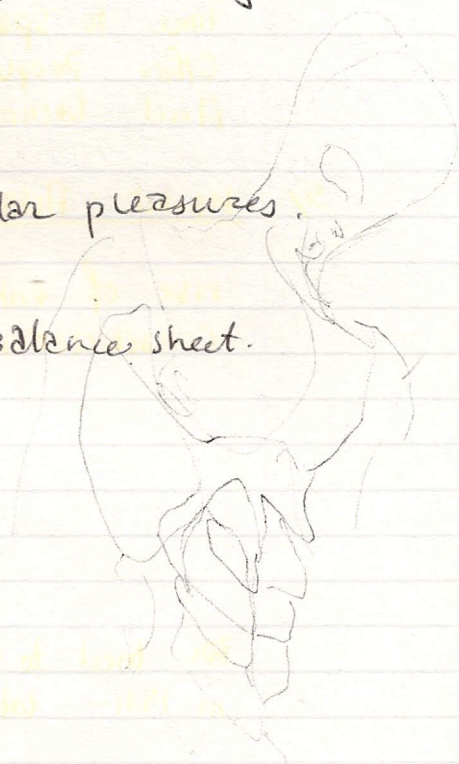


Fig 3. Impact of B'dcasting (up to 1939); balance sheet.

A. Good
source of pleasure / cultural access.

democratising

empowering at times.

B. BAD.

exclusion of popular pleasures - american music.

exclusion of radicals. -

relative autonomy only.

→ « Govt was not pleased with the way politics was discussed in simple terms - abolished the distanciation - made it too formal.

→

Migrations of Chineseness

SPAN
Journal of the South Pacific Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies
Number 34-35 (1993)

Diasporas

Edited by Vijay Mishra

Ien Ang In Sons of the Yellow Emperor, Lynn Pan tells the riveting "story of the overseas Chinese", as the subtitle of the book indicates. Her narrative is a mixture of history, biography, and travelogue, and as such it evokes the widely diverse and heterogeneous trajectories of the dispersal of Chinese peoples throughout the world in the modern period. Yet despite this diversity and heterogeneity, she ultimately emphasizes a sense of unity of the Chinese diaspora - the book is presented as the story, not stories, of "the overseas Chinese". The core of this unity is "China". She ends the book like this:

> Each time they visit it, they ask themselves, 'Why are we here? Why do we keep going back?' Why must they return to this cruel, tormented, corrupt, hopeless place as though they still needed it? Could they never achieve immunity? And yet had China meant nothing to them, any other place thereafter would have meant less, and they would carry no pole within themselves, and they would not even guess what they had missed. When they leave it after their visit they feel that they have left something of themselves behind, yet they also realize that they could hever live there. Deep in their hearts they know that they love China best when they live well away from the place. 1

Never mind Pan's overgeneralized "they", her construction of the "overseas Chinese" as an overly homogeneous collective subject - although it is precisely this imagined and imaginary unity which I would like to problematize in this article. To begin with, it is the troublesome double-bind invoked by Pan as common experience of members of the Chinese diaspora which interests me here. It is the kind of double-bind shared by millions of people throughout the world today, where migration has become an increasingly common phenomenon. The experience of migration brings with it a shift in perspective: to paraphrase Paul Gilroy, for the migrant it is not "where you're from", but "where you're at" which forms the point of anchorage in everyday life.2

However, in a world in which the modern nation-state still forms the dominant framework for cultural identification and construction of imagined community, the question "where you're from" tends to overwhelm and marginalize that of "where you're at". As any migrant knows whenever s/he is asked the deceptively simple and innocent question, "Where are you from?", the compulsion to explain, the inevitable positioning of oneself as deviant vis-a-vis the taken-for-granted, remains. Whenever no singular and straightforward answer to this question can be given, the hegemony of nationality as key marker of cultural origin and belonging is both exposed and reproduced. In other words, for migrants the relation between "where you're from" and "where you're at" is a deeply problematic one. To be sure, it is this very problem which both is constitutive to the idea of diaspora, and for which the idea of diaspora attempts to be a solution. As William Safran has put it, "diaspora consciousness is an intellectualization of an existential condition",3 an existential condition that becomes understood and reconciled through the myth of a homeland from which one is removed but to which one imagines to actually belong. But I would argue that this solution, at least at the cultural level, is by no means sufficient or unambiguously effective. As Lynn Pan's description of the overseas Chinese double-bind towards China illuminates, the diasporic imagination is steeped in continuous ambivalence. This ambivalence, I would suggest, highlights the fundamental precariousness of diasporic identity construction, its positive indeterminacy.

This is not to unproblematically endorse the formalist, poststructuralist tendency to overgeneralize the global currency of so-called nomadic, fragmented and deterritorialized subjectivity in the postmodern world. Such, what James Clifford has dubbed nomadology4 only serves to decontextualize and flatten out "difference", as if "we" were all in fundamentally similar ways always-already travellers in the same postmodern universe, the only difference residing in the different itineraries we undertake. Such a gross universalization of the metaphor of "travel" runs the danger of reifying, at a conveniently abstract level, the infinite and permanent flux in subject formation, thereby foregrounding what Lata Mani calls an abstract, depoliticized, and internally undifferentiated notion of "difference".5 Against this tendency, which paradoxically would only lead to a complacent indifference toward real differences, I would like to stress the theoretical importance to keep paying attention to the particular historical conditions and the specific trajectories through which actual social subjects become incommensurably different and similar. That is to say, in the midst of the postmodern flux of nomadic subjectivities we need to recognize the continuing and continuous operation of "fixing" performed by the categories of race and ethnicity, as well as class, gender, geography etc. on the formation of "identity" (although it is never possible, as determinist theories would have it, to decide ahead of time how such markers of difference will inscribe their salience and effectivity in the course of concrete histories, in the context of specific social, cultural and political conjunctures). It is in this, overdetermined sense that the precariousness of any identity construction should be theoretically understood.

Panorama:- ~~New Labour: losing Control~~
LOSING CONTROL (28.2.00)

1. Livingstone:- A threat?

Millbank Tower:- Labour Party HQ.

→

Dobson v/s Livingstone

MP's vote more powerful

Livingstone → blames the public nature of the MP ballot vote - MP's fearing their career.

→ The MP ballot system:-

↓

System reformed so trade Unions had to ballot their members first.

→ The MILLBANK machine

'We cannot afford gesture politics' - Blair on why Ken Livingstone wasn't chose.

→ Ken Livingstone was according to the thesis presented by Panorama, told he was losing by 3% even before the count was over.

↓

Other: Millbank Incidents:-

↳ Wales:- Cardiff West Labour Party:-

↳ the defeat of Labour's chosen man.

?

Ron Davis:- Clapham Common incident (search).

How were John Prescott & Tony Blair elected for position in Labour.

↳ by an electoral college / village (?).

↳ One member - one vote.

Rhodri
~~Rodri~~ Morgan (?) — who? → 1st Secretary - Wales.

Ron Davies - Labour Party MP.

↳ look for [Cymru] → Wales.

Thesis:- seems to defend people'
v/s Millbank's chosen ones.

~~Morgan~~

Denis Canavan (find story).

↓

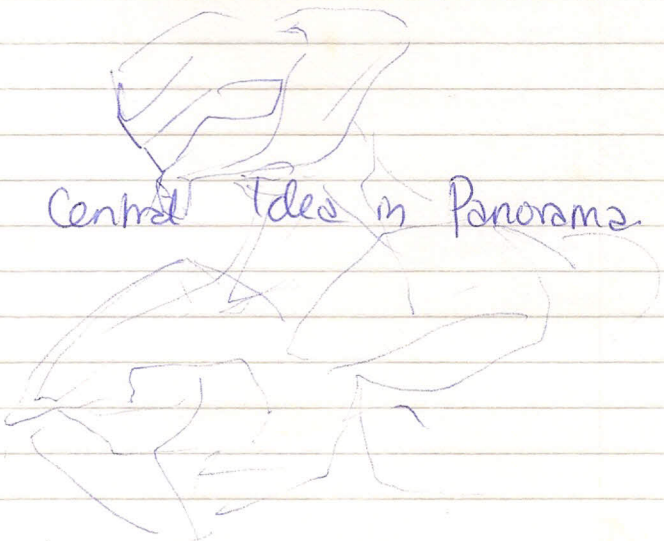
went independent like Livingstone.

Liberal Democrats v/s New Labour in Scotland

↓

Tuition fees issue

— DEVOLUTION —



Central Idea in Panorama.

Kinnock as having cleansed Labour of extreme-left elements.

Tony Blair:- the man who brought about devolution.
the man who set up the Millbank machine.

– BBC.co.uk / panorama

Prod. Peter Horrocks.

The Complicated notion of MEDIATION.
or Political Communication.

The concept of mediation which this question requires us to explore is not an easy one to define. If understood at a primary level to 'mediate' would be restricted to the fact of being a channel between one body or and the "Other", in this context between government and electorate.

Within the particular context of politics mediation acquires the more specialised of political communications as has been noted by McNair (1999).* For indeed, politics automatically understate that information, far from being neutral and requiring a mere passing from one point to the other, is much more biased and charged with the factors of interest (governmental or public).* Information then has to be directed organised, censured, has to bring out the ascent of some elements over others. Political comm

can provide evaluations. Cumulated with the fact that ~~not~~ many media organisations especially the Press have got political allegiances of their own, these factors create a situation where definitions of 'mediation' cannot be simple and unidirectional.

~~It~~ Such a situation has given ~~given~~ McNair (1999) ~~given~~ the

Such considerations by McNair (1999) have urged him to distinguish between a whole variety of definitions.

McNair (1999)
On the one hand, presents a definition of Denton and Woodward (1990) ~~that~~ which states that political communication is:

"... public discussion about the allocation of public resources (revenues), official authority (who is given the power to make legal, legislative and executive decisions), and official sanctions (what the state rewards or punishes).

(Denton and Woodward, 1990 : 14)

Within this definition, McNair (1996) will point out ~~is~~ lies a mere concern for the "verbal and written political rhetoric" (McNair, 1990: 3).

And he will indicate that there are today a wider ~~range~~ repertoire of symbols which have ~~made their way into~~ changed the definition of ~~the~~ the mediation process between the government and electorate.

This is the definition given by McNair (1996) on ~~the~~ political communication:

"... I... have in mind...

SOURCE: The Times DATE: 26 November 1994 PAGE: 1

Blair backs market with new Clause 4

By Philip Webster, Political Editor

TONY Blair is calling on Labour to commit itself to the market economy in its new statement of party aims and values drawn up to replace Clause Four.

In a document to be considered by the party's national executive next week, the Labour leader gives further proof of his determination to change Labour for good by making plain his desire to move it away from old-style public ownership to tighter regulation of the privatised former state sector.

Mr Blair's consultation document speaks of the ``weaknesses of the monolithic state corporations that have been typical of national industries in the past". It is a clear signal that most of the big industries privatised by the Tories since 1979 would not be renationalised under a future Labour government. Instead, Mr Blair would rely on tougher regulation to make them more responsive to consumers.

The Times has obtained a draft of the report understood to be close to the final version that was being sent to NEC members over the weekend. It emphasises the continuing role of public ownership, with health and education given as examples of services that must remain in the public sector, but it adds that ``it does not follow that common ownership is our reflex answer to all market failures."

The document comes in the wake of Mr Blair's pledge at the Labour conference to ditch Clause Four, the party's commitment to the ``common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange". Mr Blair's replacement proposals are a further illustration of his determination to slay the party's sacred cows.

The Left seems certain to be upset by the replacement of Clause Four with a statement committing the party so firmly to a competitive market economy. It will also be uneasy at what appears to be a clear indication of Mr Blair's refusal to contemplate penal taxation rates against the rich. The document speaks of Labour's commitment to equality of opportunity rather than ``absolute arithmetic equality".

Mr Blair's 17-page paper was drawn up with John Prescott, his deputy. During the past few days it has been amended after consultations with senior shadow Cabinet members including Gordon Brown, the shadow Chancellor, Robin Cook, the shadow Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, the shadow Home Secretary, and David Blunkett, the shadow Education Secretary, as well as senior union leaders. They are understood to include John Edmonds, general secretary of the GMB general union, and Bill Morris, general secretary of the transport workers' union. Tom Sawyer, the new party general secretary, has been closely involved in the discussions.

The original Clause Four was drawn up in 1918 as a reaction against the effects of 19th-century free market capitalism; the new document concludes that the clause is not relevant to today's circumstances.

Mr Blair's conclusion is

that Clause Four does not define Labour in a manner appropriate to the 1990s and beyond, that its view of the economy is not satisfactory for the modern world and that its definition of what a modern Labour Party stands for is not sufficiently comprehensive.

After a period of consultation in the party, the aims will be distilled into a relatively short statement and approved, possibly at a special party conference. The precise method of completing the consultative process will be agreed by the NEC next week.

It is clear that Mr Blair intends the new Clause Four to be a much wider statement of party values. He points out that the existing clause makes no mention of social justice, democracy or solidarity, values ``central to the purpose and identity of the party".

He calls for an assault on ``unaccountable concentrations of wealth and power" and for reforms to attack privilege wherever it exists.

(c) Times Newspapers Ltd. 1995

Lecture 2 —

Britain 17th c. - study in social class values.

Identity shaped by birth, class
no freedom.

- living in: stable,
rural or snobbish;
very unequal society.

The London mob could sometimes aroused & could intimidate the landed gentry, otherwise - everything under control.

Fig. 1: Control of press C. 1760's.

Aristocratic Domination.

State

Political Culture.

Elite Cohesion.

Control of the press

Law (of treason)

Taxation

Management

Consequence social control.

1/ 9th --- law made it an offence to criticise pol. inst

parliamentary privilege (no right to report).
protect legislators from report of people so as not to distor their judgement

Due to a balanced constitution for all strata abusive tyranny was avoided.

Taxes.

Stamp duty - sales tax.

Furnishment duty.

- ensures paper too cap. do be widespread
- only well off gentry could own real press.
- economically vulnerable

bet. 1---1800 stamp d. increased 900 %

Management

- Sinecures - well paid posts being given as bribes.
- bad reports could be bought & sold.

Consequence of social control

They

⇒ All papers pro & anti govt was controlled by landed aristocracy.

↳ view of society put fwd.
society as a harmonious & stable system of rank-

never questioned the political system.

Figure 2 : Seeds of change 1750's - 1780's.

Economic development

Growth of press by disenfranchised (provinces).

Readership : spread of political awareness

The readership steadily grew.

steadily ~~grew~~ a group of people, not able to vote, started acquiring political opinion.

Fig 3 : John Wilke's campaign (1760's) as key moments.
↳ (non-conformist → baptist ; come from the church)

ALTERNATIVE AGENDA.

ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC OPINION

MOBILISATION AND REFORM.

J.W :- Son a brewer.
- popular among middle-class voters ("M.P" - ~~for home~~)
- used his power of magistrate to free journalist reporting happenings of parliament.

~~evok~~
At a ~~moment~~ pt. the ~~popular~~ rural men surrounds the parliament in support of J.W.

↓

power of mass opinion
public

4)

Continuation of change 1770's - 1850's.

Liberal critique of aristocratic constitution.

More independent commercial press.

Development of middle class consciousness.

Liberal reform

1890's - Foxes' Libel's act.

→ ~~[illegible]~~, considered it a crime to criticise institutions - pol'. - religious ...

But not as draconian as that.

↳ one could still claim the information had to be given to the people.

Middle-class papers argued, & disseminated & awareness that the ~~rural class~~ working-class was the most important part of England.

arg:- Everything should be awarded → merit.

1830's - landed elite tried to buy off middle-class by giving them the vote.

sign - the middle-class obviously had the power of newspapers ~~they~~ ~~pros~~ under their control

5/ WORKING CLASS CHALLENGE.

Economic development.

Trade Unionism / Pol.'al agitation / Chartism.

Emergence of radical press.

Breakdocon of control system.

Stamp taxes — hiked

↓

Radical paper refused to pay the tax.

Libd's act was wiped out.

(L) - - - -

Radical press went legal again. but was still popular.

6/. Impact of radical press (c 1815 – 1850)

(i) Support for radical movements.

(ii) Development of radical sub-culture & public opinion.

(iii) Evolution of radical critique.

(i) ~~To Marquess~~ (Hobhouse ?)

(ii) argued the working class = backbone of Eng. soc. society could be changed.

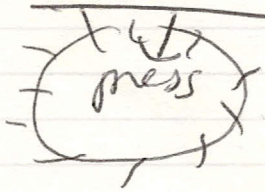
promoted knowledge - that the people - different by culture & class were part of a ~~work~~ whole → could bring their contribution to decision making.

(iii) critique to remove taxes → cause of poverty.

the landed-elite creamed off the fruits of working class labour → cause of poverty.

Conc.

1750's - Brit controlled by landed elite



This started breaking up with growth of press

Rev. of radical press set about overturning things

1940's — Chartist agitations

Freedom of press due to capitalist st development

org. ⟷ counter org.

Historical overview. - Session 2.

- Industrial rev.
- Colonisation -

Eng - an industrial base for processing raw mat from colonised countries.

right to vote.
↓
landed elite
↓
middle class

voting condition
ind. hard to earn more than £10/month.

For next week. → The last war.

Previous Lesson | Next Lesson | Hist 1012 Home Page | Course Outline

Independent and Distance Learning (IDL) Home Page | Department of History Home Page | University of Minnesota Home Page

Lesson 6: Nationalism and Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century

Required Reading

Eric Wolf, Europe and the People Without History, pages 296-353

Upshur et al., *World History,* vol. 2, pages 494-510, 522-28, 538-42, 547-52, 556-65, 571-73, and 579-607

Barraclough, *The Times Concise Atlas of World History,* pages 86-91, 96-97, 100-105, and 114-15

Required Viewing

For the written assignment, you will need to view a videocassette, Basil Davidson's "This Magnificent African Cake." (The program "The Bible and the Gun," which is also contained on the cassette, is supplemental; you are encouraged to view it but will not be asked to write about it in the written assignment or on the exam.) For instructions on how to obtain the videocassette, consult "Required Viewing" in the course information section, page iv of this study guide.

Terms

nation
imagined community
nationalism
nation-state
American War of Independence
creoles
Bourbon Reforms
peninsulares
jingoism

Objectives

By the end of this lesson you should be able to

1. identify important elements contributing to the formation of nationalist sentiment;

2. discuss and explain nationalist movements in different regions;

3. discuss the linkages between European nationalism and imperialism; and

4. explain and define the "new imperialism" as a process distinct from sixteenth-century European expansion.

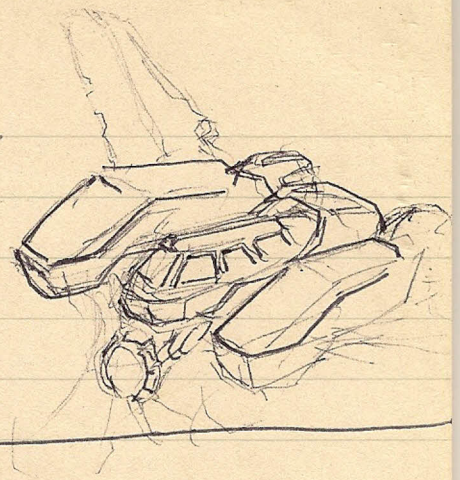
Introduction

In this lesson, I discuss a phenomenon that is still very much with us in the late twentieth century: nationalism. Although people from time immemorial have identified with their local community and immediate surroundings, personal identification with a nation-state is a relatively new development. I compare several patterns (examples from various regions and times) of the process of nationalism, highlighting factors that lead to the formation of nationalism and identifying the bases of nationalism and its effects. Then I go on to examine

When was the golden age of British Cinema

Before - 1940's -

1930's.



1930

(1) Between 1927 and 1932.

Starting from 1927 occasional 'head-ups.' - until 1930.

Jan 1927 - First Cinematograph Films Bill in Parliament

Dec 1927 - passed as law.

March 1927 → effects of Quota felt.

British International Pictures - launched by John Maxwell -

→ Isidore Ostrer 'organised merger of a no of distribution, production and exhibition concerns into the £ 2½ million Gaumont-British Picture Corporation.

- Over the next year another 11 film companies were floated on the stock Market.

1928 - considerable increase in no of films - but poor quality.

1929 - new production companies in deep financial trouble

1931 - 'quota companies' bankrupt (7 of them) - ~~p~~ brought about by the coming of sound

1931 – combined capital of the 11 companies of the merger shrunk in value from £ 2,322,000 to £ 254,295.

– only British International made profit:- Maxwell had been shrewd enough to equip his Elstree Studio with RCA recording equipment at the first opportunity and to build up a circuit of cinemas (ABC)

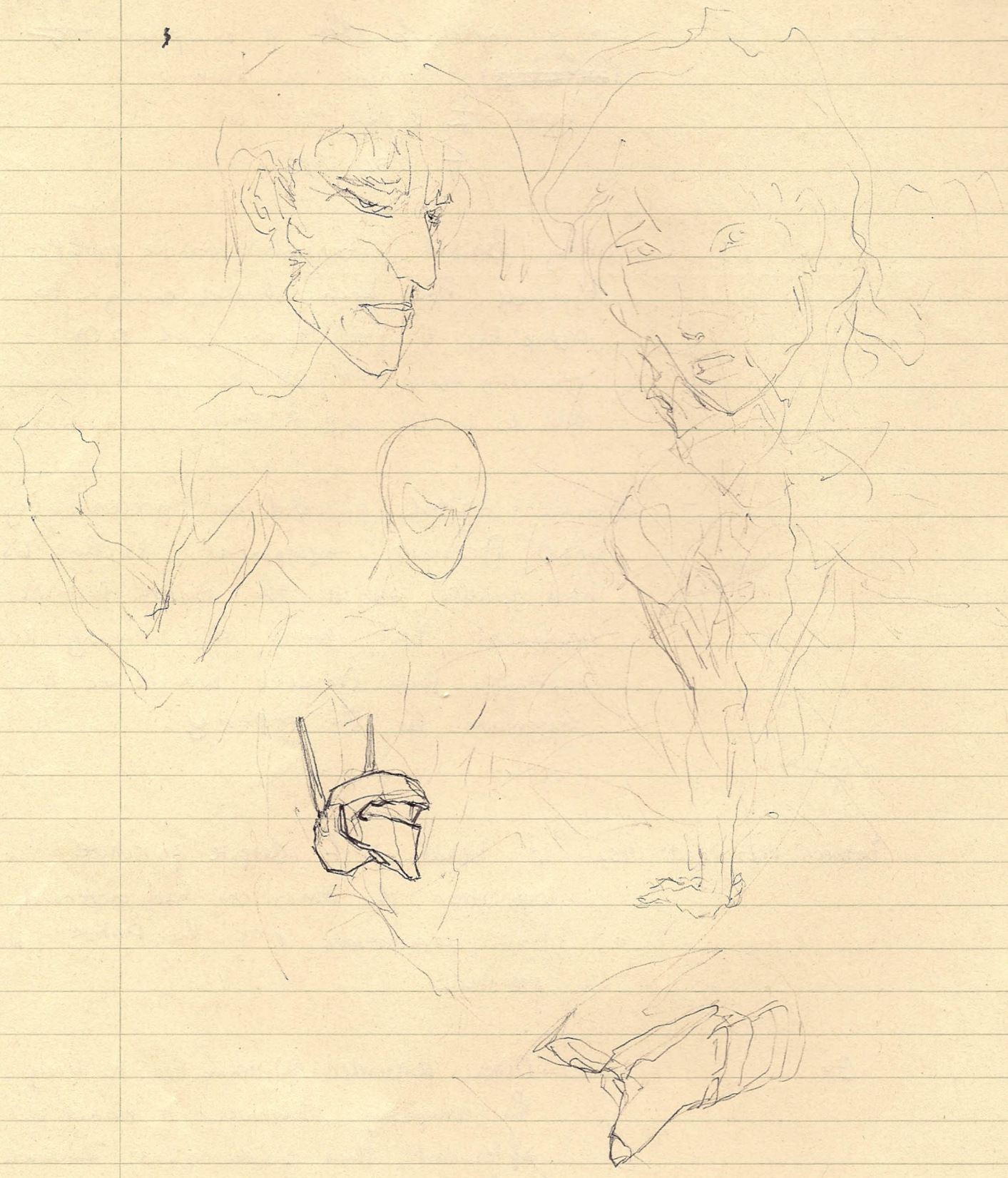
– Gaumont-British survived but precariously. British Acoustic equipment. Isidor Ostler had doubts about the British Acoustic equipment, but knew that buying RCA apparatus from America would be too expensive for the company. (in 300 cinemas)

Between 1927 and 1932 – 'it looked as if, despite protective legislation, the Americans had increased their domination over the British film industry.'

– Ostler persuaded William Fox to buy the company – however it turned out afterwards, they had equal amounts of shares.

On the other hand, requirements of quota legislation ensured a steady demand for British films.

– 1932, when quota for exhibitors was 20,



British films actually took 24.27 % of screen time

- The ABC and Gaumont-British cinemas provided an outlet for the films of their associated production companies.

- Independent cinemas were even more generous in according playing time to British films. Many of them were poor quality films foisted on exhibitors by American companies which fulfilled their quota obligation in the cheapest possible way.

- 'But the few remaining British companies found an enthusiastic market for their talkies.'

1930- Wilcox- Rookery Nook
Basil Dean - Sally in our Alley.

~~1933~~ -

1931 - J.C. Graham, head of paramount, struck a deal with Wilcox, whereby Wilcox's British & Dominion Company would make 12 films for Paramount ~~for~~ at an average cost of £30 thousand.
↓
— also started Alexander Korda.

Oct. 1933 - Korda:- The private life of Henry ~~VIII~~

BENEDICT ANDERSON
Imagined Communities

Chapter 1: Introduction

Nationality, nation-ness, and nationalism are cultural artifacts whose creation toward the end of the 18th C was the spontaneous distillation of a complex "crossing" of discrete historical forces; but that, once created, they became "modular," capable of being transplanted to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a variety of political and ideological constellations. Theorists of nationalism have encountered three paradoxes: (1)The objective modernity of nations in the eye of the historian vs. their subjective antiquity in the eye of nationalists. (2) The formal universality of nationality as a socio-cultural concepts vs. the particularity of its concrete manifestations. (3) The political power of nationalism vs. its philosophical poverty.

In order to address some of these problems, Anderson proposes the following definition of nationalism: it is an imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because members will never know most of their fellow-members, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. It is limited because it has finite, though elastic boundaries beyond which lies other nations. It is sovereign because it came to maturity at a stage of human history when freedom was a rare and precious ideal. And it is imagined as a community because it is conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

Chapter 2: Cultural Roots

Nationalism has to be understood not in relation to self-consciously held political ideologies, but the the large cultural systems that preceded it. Nationalism arose at a time when three other cultural conceptions were decreasing in importance. First, there were changes in the religious community. Nationality represented a secular transformation of fatality into continuity, contingency into meaning. The unselfconscious coherence of religion declined after the Middle Ages because of the effects of the explorations of the non-European world and the gradual demotion of the sacred language itself. The older communities lost confidence in the unique sacredness of their languages (the idea that a particular script language offered privileged access to ontological truth), and thus lost confidence in their ideas about admission to membership in the religious community.

Second, there were changes in the dynastic realm. In the older imagining, states were defined by centers, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded with one another. However, in he 17th C, the automatic legitimacy of the sacral monarchy began its decline and people began to doubt the belief that society was naturally organized around high centers.

Third was a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable. In the Middle Ages, time was thought to be simultaneous; the modern idea was of homogeneous, empty time. They idea of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time is a precise analogue of the idea of the nation, which also is conceived as a solid community moving steadily through history. These three changes lead to a search for a new way o linking fraternity, power, and time together.

Chapter 3: The Origins of National Consciousness

The preceding elements set the conditions for a new form of cultural consciousness. The reason this consciousness took the form of nationalism is due to the half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communications (print), and the fatality of human linguistic diversity.

Capitalism was especially important because the expansion of the book market contributed tot he revolutionary vernacularization of languages. This was given further impetus by three extraneous factors: a change in the character of Latin
the impact of the Reformation, which led to the mass production of Bibles
the spread of particular vernaculars as instruments of administrative centralization.

Print languages laid the foundation for national consciousness in three ways:
they created unified fields of exchange and communication
they gave a new fixity to language
they created languages-of-power of a kind different from the older administrative vernaculars
However, the concrete formation of contemporary nation-states is not isomorphic with the determinate reach of particular print languages, one must also look at the emergence of political entities on the world stage.

Chapter 4: Creole Pioneers

Anderson is concerned with determining why it was Creole communities (those formed and led by people who shared a common language and common descent with those against who they fought) that developed early conceptions of their nation-ness well before most of Europe. There are 6 factors of Creole history that contributed to this:
the tightening of Madrid's control on these areas
the spread of the liberalizing ideas of the Enlightenment
the improvement of trans-Atlantic communication
the willingness of the "comfortable classes" to make sacrifices in the name of freedom
the ability of the administrative units to create meaning through the religious pilgrimage (refer to Victor Turner) and the internal interchangeability of mean and documents which helped created a unified apparatus of power
the rise of the newspaper which implies the refraction of events, even "world events" into a specific imagined world of vernacular readers

The failure of the Spanish-American experience to generate a permanent Spanish-American-wide nationalism reflects both the general level of development of capitalism and technology in the late 18th C and the "local" backwardness of Spanish capitalism and technology in relation to the administrative stretch of the empire. The Protestant, English-speaking people to the north were much more favorably situated for realizing the idea of "America."

Chapter 5: Old Languages, New Models

The close of the era of successful national liberation movements in the Americas coincided with the onset of the age of nationalism in Europe. These "new nationalisms" were different in two respects: 1.) national print languages were of central ideological and political importance, and 2.) the nation became something capable of being consciously aspired to from early on due to the "models" set forth

MC 104 – Lecture 9.

Figure 1: Contradiction in Media Policy.

- Press : Market Organisation

Broadcasting: public service organisation (public ownership or regulation)

New Right: demand for policy consistency.

Press is organised on a basis of free market.

On the other hand, broadcasting – organised – – – public service
↓
obligation – mixed diet programmes
– requirement to maintain quality
– have to be careful in treating some issues.

Figure 2:- Vulnerability of Public Service Broadcasting.

1. Technical justification redundant.
2. Rise of anti-statism.
3. Rise of cultural relativism.
4. Attack on liberal corporation: rise of market liberalism.
5. New commercial lobby opposed to PSB.
6. New media challenge

Report. – find out which ones
↳.

Peacock Committee report:

– purpose should be to set broadcasters free.
– Broadcasters should be as independent as the press.
→ State seen as threat to broadcasting

3.- 1977 - Allen (or Annan) report → look out for

During Thatcherism - 80's - Peacock report.

↳ programmes should give people what they want

- A tradition of shabby compromise bringing Unions ~ etc, had dismantled the structure of cooperation.

If there was to be a liberation of the ~~BBC~~ enterprise of the British people, it would be through liberation of broadcasting

Challenges to Public broadcasting

→ Commercial Lobby - ~~BBC~~ comprising of good proportion of the press - Rupert Murdoch.

→ New Channels.

⇒ Figure 3: Survival of Public Service Broadcasting.

PSB weakened but survived. Why?

1/. Popularity: compromise bet. market & elite cultural values

: new TV only 10% of viewing time in ~~1994~~ 1996

2/. Perception of Independence.

3/. Cultural traditionalism of political class

4/. Accomodation.

5/. Collectivist culture.

→ Public Broadcasters shown to be much more reliable, truth telling than the Press (Press).

- what led to this? The constant effort which Broadcasting ~~had~~ put in to be independent. example: Documentary (during Thatcherism) - about ~~the~~ Northern Irish, as a family. The Govt. tried to censor ~~it~~ a ~~film~~ the BBC

→ Broadcasting Community supported ~~liberal-minded~~ revolutionary Broadcasters.

→ Values imposed by Govt. (political class.

~~BBC~~

4/. The louder BBC was shouting out, the more reassuring it was for the Govt. → showed that their reform were effective.

5/.

Fig 4 – Polarisation of Media Policy

1/. Free Market - 'consumer control' / 'social responsibility'

2/. Public Service - 'Needs of society'

3/. Social Market - 'limited regulation'

4/. Radical / Socialist alternative - 'freedom of communication' / 'popular control').

'Social Market' perspective

Market is a good thing, but must be checked by a watchdog institution
The State should step in as a developer & repair-shop when the market starts failing

---

Figure 5:- Legal Debate.

A - Libertarian.

1/ Censorship should be: to prevent harm to others only.
2/ Stress on freedom of expression, and right to know.
3/ Emphasis on independence and autonomy of the audience.

B. Paternalist.

1/ Censorship: when offensive, as well harmful.
2/ Stress on 'other' rights (e.g. national security).
3/ Need to protect the vulnerable and impressionable

Fig 6. - Reform proposals.

1/ End government patronage

2/ Represent differences of opinion and outlook.

3/ Media 4.

Seminar

1- How could you summerise the tendency of the Free Market approach

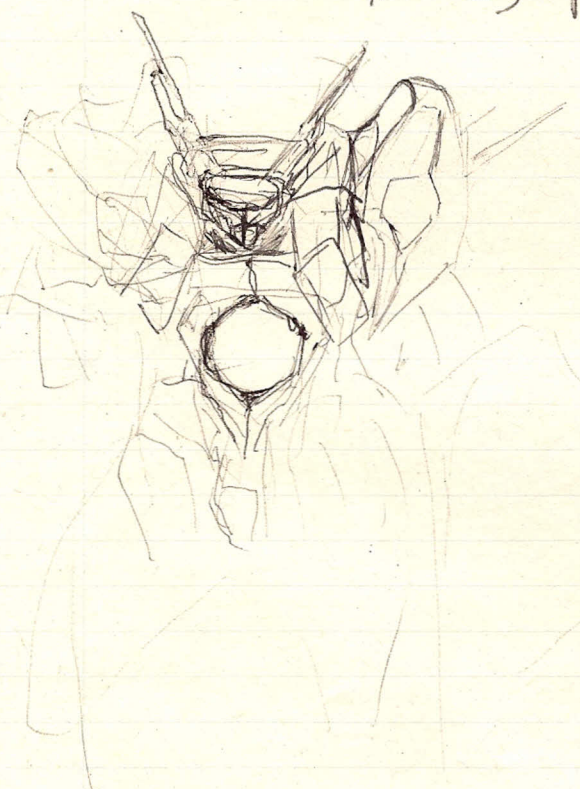
2- What's British Broadcasting about? What's the underlying ideology? In what ways could you criticise this structure?

3- If advertising was introduced into BBC, ~~note~~ what -ve effects

4- 3 ways of financing. The problems and advantages of these ways.
- taxing advertising ; govt. financing

1/ Rating based
- no particular demands on quality.
= freedom from social responsibility Constraint

2/ Quality - Governmental restraints which ~~effect~~ ~~not~~ → public service



Power without Resp

pgs 332 - 333

MC 202
Handout to accompany
Lecture 7 - Rethinking the Universal Subject

Differentiation of 'critical psychology' from mainstream psychology's approach to selfhood. Deconstruction of the idea of the universal subject to the production of identity/subjectivity. Foucault is interested in this process of subject formation (subjectification). Argues that in 20th century society human sciences play a key role in this process, providing the behavioural norms, concepts and ideas producing a regulatory ideal - an image of selfhood which Rose argues is based upon the idea of autonomous self-regulation - the fiction of the autonomous self. This image organises social practices and is confirmed and maintained in the media through the way difference to this image signifies as 'other'. Have explored this in the way that racial, gendered and sexual difference and psychopathology and criminality signify as other to this image.

Elements of a 'critical psychological' approach -

Explore how difference signifies and the concepts which govern those significations.

Think about the role and function of the 'other' in processes of subject formation i.e the 'other' confirms an ideal which is embedded in regimes of truth such as psychology and psychiatry. Has potency because it is based upon the supposed 'truth' of who we are as human subjects. It helps maintain and draw limits around what we take rationality, sanity, white ethnicity, hetrosexuality to be. ie. we construct our identities in relation to what we are not - the 'other'. The 'other' becomes the site or repository of all those things, behaviours, experiences, forms of conduct we are unwilling to acknowledge as being part of what makes us human. The 'other' also becomes a threat, an object of fear and loathing because it constantly threatens to disturb those fragile limits we draw around ourselves ie. violent women, the motiveless psychopath, the rational madman, etc. It also becomes the repository/site of more envious,. desirous fantasies which again tell us more about the fantasies of the coloniser than the colonised. ie. the black man expressing a rampant, potent sexuality,

Key question for critical psychology and media studies is how we live these images.

This week 'post'68 theorising' - key question - why are people so resistant to change? I will give you historical context of this work in lecture. Relating back to the work we have done we need to provide an account of the relationship between people's own subjectivities and identities, regulatory practices and media fantasies. The key question is whether people have a subjective commitment to certain fictions and fantasies because either they confirm their fragile sense of selfhood, ie. I'm not like that or that particular fantasies connect with the difficulties of living this form of selfhood in relation to the exigencies of peoples lives which produce feelings of powerlessness, persecution, guilt, humiliation, failure etc.

Valerie Walkerdines work - the role media fantasies play in the lives of oppressed peoples - connect with desires to get out, better oneself, struggle etc. produced through the contradictory ways they are positioned as subjects across a range of cultural practices. Suggests a very different way of understanding the relationship between the masses and the massmedia ie. not that certain groups are more vulnerable or susceptible to media effects, but that media fantasies come to mean particular things, take on particular significances in relation to a person's autobiography produced at the intersection of regulatory practices, popular culture and their own sense of selfhood.

Section 3 of the Changing the Subject
Walkerdine, Schoolgirl Fictions, Mapping the Subject, Daddy's Girl. Koebena Mercer, Welcome to the Jungle
suggests we need to examine the relationship between
power/knowledge/desire
subjective commitment/investment in certain fictions and fantasies

MC 104 Lecture 3 - Curran

Fry 1 Retrospect (1750 - 1850)

1/ Aristocratic Domination of press challenged by
commercial Reform Press: Liberal (critique
Radical Working Class pres.: Militant Critique

2/ Control on restrictive land (something — — back it?

Fry 2: 1) Pres Transformd 1850 - 1918.

2) Rise of Reg'l Daily & Pop'lar National daily Press.

3) Decline of Rad'l press & rise of Liberal press

3) Rise of Popular conservative Press

Growth of the magazine press: consumer mag. press,
technical & professional.

→ Radical papers - died out or were absorbed in political press

Liberal Press - was reinvigorated.

Pamphlets in working classes — Tom Payne - "Age of reason."

→ Tory Propaganda
1820's - Religion used to maintain conservative ideas
↓
against Payne.

A code of respectability was ~~bre~~ preached (in slang) in the conservative papers.

Why was there this historic change in the Brit. Press

RIGHT WING ⇄ left wing.

- The reason why left journalism declined was that left wing itself declined.

1850 - Chartism collapsed.
↳ liberal agitators.

Reflection of Societal change.

60's growth of mass political parties.

Press moved right due to Rightward shift in Britain?

1/ Political Restabilisation

1850's Collapse of Chartism: Isolation of Militants
60's Development of mass political parties. (ex Trade Union Corporatism)

1860 Development of Mass Political Parties (ex Trade Union Corporatism)

1880 - Growth of Imperialism, ex Conservative Political Dominance Throug continuity.

2/ Social Improvement

Economic Growth, Improvement of Wages & Reduced Working hours

Social Reform: Extens^n of Vote; State Modernisation; Educ^n Soc^l security; Union of Protect^n.

But only partial explanation: Revival of Radicalism After 1900 Not fully Reflected in Press

Matthew Engel.
↳ Tichb the public.

1849 – Famine

- With Economic growth none of this happened anymore
- Export – more than USA (7 times?)

1870 – Universal Education introduced

Unions:– Union protected by law

Things went better – Is this why people were drawn to liberal & conservative rather than radical

→ not sufficient explanation.

When militants arised,
When Suffragettes manifested
When & Labour got 22 %

~~Not~~ Not one paper was interested.

No direct correspondence bet. Press & Climates of Opinion

Fig 4.

Commercial Press Triumphed over Political Because the former was more geared to market demand

But its commercialism led to political compromise.

However, only an incomplete explanation:

Begs Question: Why did Radical press change Direction?

Is Market Success and Political Commitment Always Incompatible?

Why did radical Press fail to its promise.

↳ became commercial structure

Why did a left-wing press convert to this base, and press.

lack of market success - not a sufficient explanation.

Fig 5:

Industrialisation of Press

Technological Revol^{n} / Increase in Product^{n}.

1/ Rise in Market Entry Cost:

Northern Star less than £1000 in 1830's
Sunday Express over £2 million in early 1920's.

2/ Advertising Dependence:

Political Discrimination.
Economic discrimi^{n}

3/ Consequences

1/ Move up Market
2/ Low cost Ghetto
3/ Misguided Expans^{n} - Trouble
4/ Alternative Subsidy - Control
5/ Conclus^{n}: Market CENSORSHIP.

It became much more expensive making MARKET ENTRY

Only the rich - had the press.

Some even managed to be independent from Advertising living off the pennies of their consumers.

~~Consequences of Adv. discrimination~~

The Bee-hive 1852 – found it could not find enough reporters, could not keep price low enough.
↓
radical

Increase of readership undid newspapers

more copies = more production costs.
↳ had to restrict themselves to a low cost ghetto.

Market Censorship
1) rise of cost of market entry.
2) Consequences of Advertising

Implications of change

1/ Traditional Liberal Interpretation
Freedom from State Control; End of Press Taxes in 1850's.
Speak for the Public Forum of Debate.
Social Responsibility
BUT New Journalism and Media Moguls: 1890's onwards.

2/ Radical Interpretation.

New Form of control: Market Censorship
Integration into the political system.
Blocked out Radical Perspectives
Boosted Liberal and Conservative Ideologies.

Read LEE.
MOUNTJOY
ENGEL
CRANFIELD

Marxists spoke about M. Censorship as the most effective form of control

Faculty of Social Studies & Humanities

Diploma in Communication Studies-Outline Syllabus

YEAR I

SEMESTER I

UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY

Social structure. Basic social institutions; major social issues such as power, social class, inequality and deviance. Introduction to major theoretical issues.

COMMUNICATION SKILLS

Oral, written and graphical techniques.
Oral speech production.
Speech making.
Interviewing techniques.
Vocal, tone patterning.
Professional writing.
Interpreting, analysing tables, graphs and statistics.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY I

Introduction to Information Technology. Basic computer skills - Introduction to software and hardware.
Programming skills, wordprocessing.

ECONOMICS FOR INFORMATION INDUSTRIES

The information economy : mass media, education, information technology production. Economic importance of information in production, distribution, consumption. National income accounting for the information economy. Information/occupation framework. Spatial aspects of the information economy and changing perspectives for the global economy. Structure of the global information economy, mass media industries. Mass consumption theories, advertising, home information markets.

PUBLIC RELATIONS I

Theories, principles, roles and history of public relations.
Study of various public groups.
Selection of effective media.
Press releases.

SEMESTER II

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THEORIES OF THE MEDIA

Media sociology.
Social psychology.
Rise of popular culture.
Culture and discourse.
Political socialisation.
Communication of politics.

COMMUNICATION THEORY AND PRACTICE I

Mass Communication Theories and Application.
News and editing.
Radio production.
Television production.

MANAGEMENT FOR COMMUNICATION

Basic Management tools and techniques :
Decision-making process.
Organisational process.
Culture in organisations.
New Technologies, New Management Techniques.
Research and Development.

AUDIO-VISUAL PRODUCTION I

Handling, care and use of video and audio equipment. Introduction to video production, editing, lighting, sound recording.

MEDIA LAW

Obscenity
Freedom of information
Breach of confidence
Privacy and the regulatory process
Trespass
Law of Secrecy

Law of Libel and Defamation.

YEAR II

SEMESTER I

DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

Sociological, political, economic aspects and models of development : tradition and modernisation theories, role of culture in development. Technology, innovation and diffusion models. Evolution of conceptions of development and of development strategies, at global, national and local levels. Implications for communication for development.

COMMUNICATION THEORY AND PRACTICE II

Mass Communication planning, production and research
Understanding television
Visual Literacy
Further research methods : Studying the media
Losses and gratifications.

AUDIO-VISUAL PRODUCTION II

Further skills :

Video production
Studio direction
Script and screen writing
Post-production.

OPTIONS (2)

PUBLIC RELATIONS II

Public Relations Planning
Business Public Relations
Public Relations Management/Research and Evaluation
Introduction to Persuasive Communication.

JOURNALISM I

News Making
Print Journalism Production
Sociology of News
International Media Issues.

BROADCASTING I

Introduction to Broadcasting
Attributes/Characteristics of Broadcasting
Models of Broadcasting
Public Service Broadcasting
Commercialisation
The BBC Model.

SEMESTER II

DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION

Historical perspective on communication for development. Models of development communication. Communications strategies for development. Communications technologies : Information, education, communication approach. Role of traditional and folk media. Use of television as instructional/development medium. Development support communication. Participatory research and message development models.

INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY II

Using Information Technology techniques :

- Quantel system
- Editing and production
- Display and colour monitoring
- Introduction to Desk-top publishing.

COMMUNICATION THEORY AND PRACTICE III

Mass media interview (planning and implementation)
Political campaign techniques
Debate presentation
Conducting a panel discussion
Practical work through seminars and group working
Content Analysis and Semiology.

OPTIONS (2)

COMMUNICATIONS POLICY

Regulation/deregulation in the communication industry
Commercialisation v/s public service broadcasting
Privatisation/liberalisation in the media
Globalisation and cultural differences
Ethical issues in communication
Demonopolisation of information
Communication and development aid
Role of censorship.

MARKETING AND ADVERTISING

Theories of Marketing Communication
Use of effective techniques and methods : timing, budgeting, application of data collected from audience
Market research for advertising
Advertising media planning
Gender awareness and analysis of marketing.

BROADCASTING II

Education and development
System organisation
Programming and production
New technologies
Use of multimedia.

JOURNALISM II

Journalism II
Electronic Journalism
The New Age of Providing Print Information.

Go back to Courses offered Return to FSSH Home Page

Survey on Feminine Identity — sept 99/Utam Ramchurn

Age ☐☐ years

Where do you live? _____

Are you :Student ☐ if yes, which college: _____

Working ☐ Profession :_____

Are you : married ☐ *single* ☐

Which community do you belong to:

Hindu ☐

Muslim ☐

Sino Mauritian ☐

Tamil ☐

Cr ole ☐ franco mauricienne ☐

Other (Specify)_____

Which of these magazines do you read?

Girls ☐ Gala ☐ Cine Blitz ☐

Jeune et Jolie ☐ Femme Actuelle ☐ Filmfare ☐

Hello ☐ Vanity Fair ☐

Other (speficy) _____

I don t read magazines ☐

Why?

_____

_____

Why do you like these magazines?

_____

_____

_____

Who are your idols/favourite people in the media?

☐ Models : _____

☐ Actors/Actresses : _____

☐ Mauritian Personalities: _____

☐ Other _____

You like to be dressed in :

Jeans, T-shirt ☐ Sari ☐ Gaghra-choli ☐

Dress (Western Style) ☐ Churidar ☐

Why do you like these clothes?

_____

_____

_____

What are the typical values that you believe in as a girl/woman?

Which ones?

(Love, Role of the mother)

Survey on Feminine Identity — sept 99/Utam Ramchurn

Your identity is primarily based on your:

Ethnicity ☐
Education ☐
Religion ☐
Nationality ☐
Other (Specify) _____ ☐

Your favourite TV series are/were?

Brazilian Soaps e.g. : Marimar	☐	Beverly Hills 90210	☐	Dawson s Creek	☐
XFiles	☐	Hartley Coeurs a Vifs*	☐	Baywatch	☐
Melrose Place	☐	Acapulco Heat	☐	Shanti	☐

Other (Specify) _____

*Heartbreak High

Do you prefer American or Oriental films (indian, chinese etc)

Do you think think there are differences between your own identity and your mother se?Why?

Are there similarities?:

How would you describe your mother?
(Traditional, Submissive, Independent, Liberal)

Do you believe there is a difference betweenan urban girl and a rural girl:

Thank you for having answered these questions.